Washington MONTHLY

Let's Do Lunch

The new Washington power players you wish you'd been nicer to.

By Zachary Roth and Rebecca Sinderbrand

PLUS: Dick Cheney's Dangerous Son-in-Law

MARCH 2007
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THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY
MARCH

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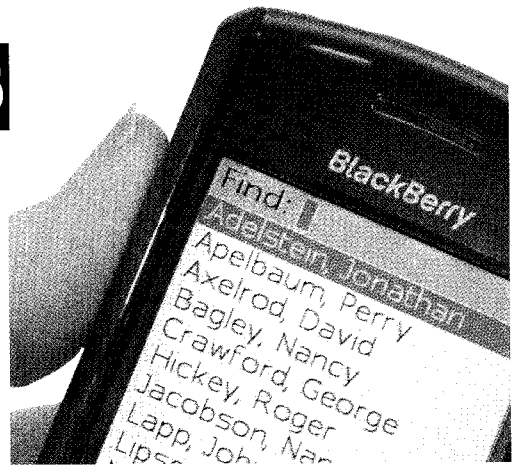
Twenty-one new power players you wish you'd been nicer to.

By Zachary Roth and Rebecca Sinderbrand



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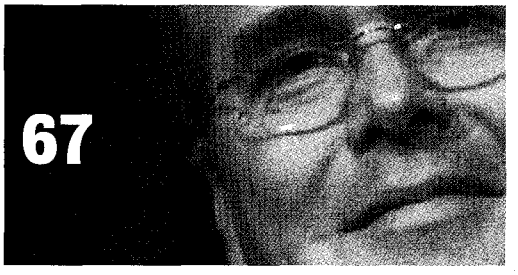

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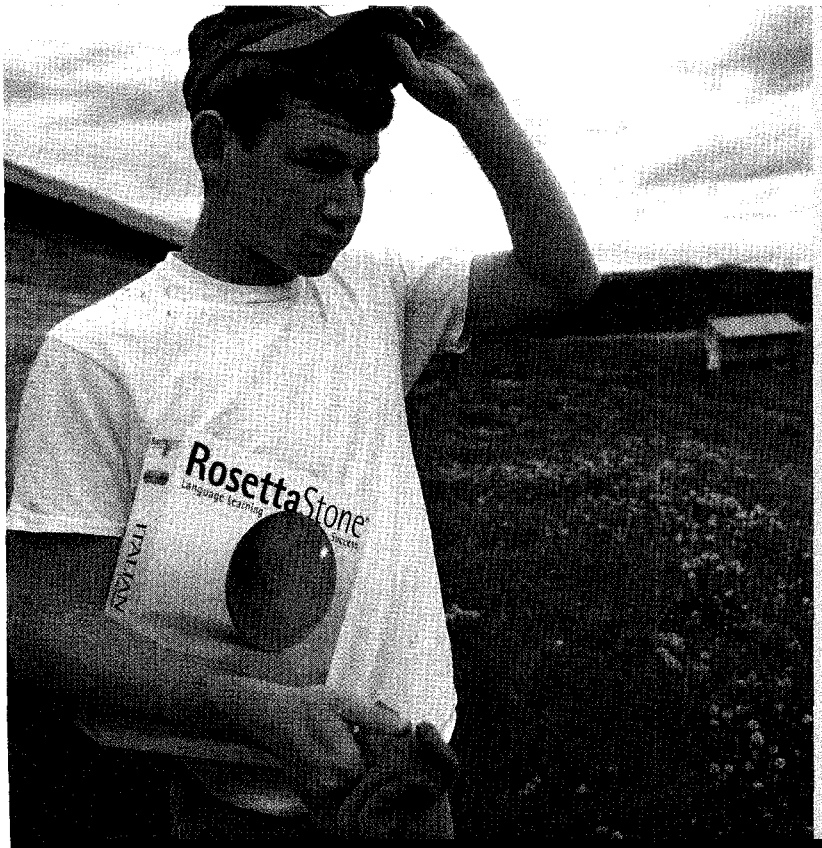

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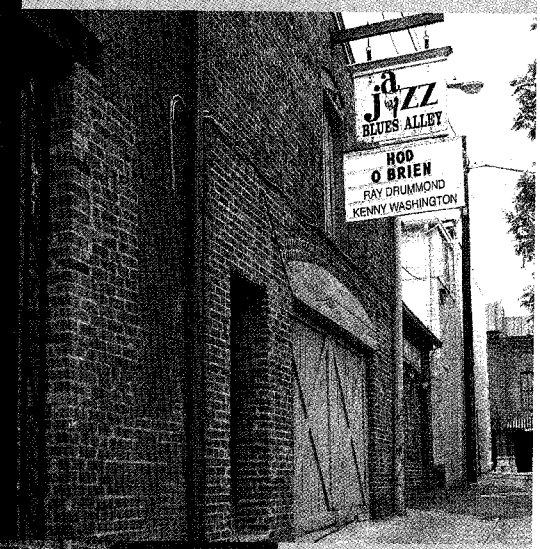

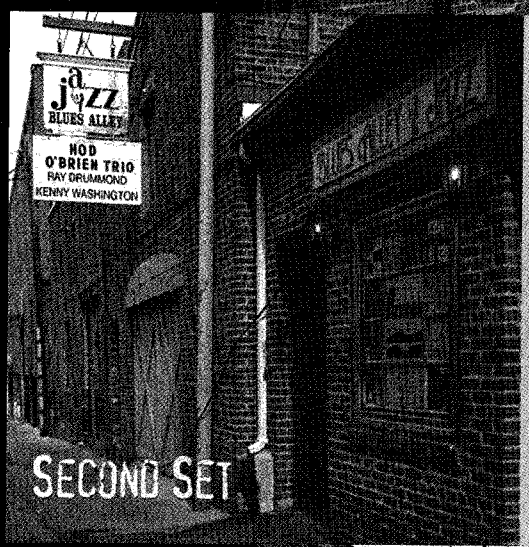

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LETTERS

Impeachment blues

I was impressed by the depth in which John Nichols presented the impeachment case ("Be Bipartisan: Impeach Bush," December 2006). I was even more impressed by how much he missed the important points. Impeaching President Bush will not correct the problems he brought upon us. What's more, he did not do it alone—he had support from other Republicans who had abandoned their own party's principles, and from spineless Democrats who didn't stand up for what they believed. Impeaching him would bring us President Cheney—and how many Americans think that would solve the Iraq problem, or any of the other problems of the Bush administration? It would consume enormous amounts of energy better spent on solving extremely complex and urgent problems. It would increase partisanship rather than eliminate it. Impeachment would be an act of revenge. We have better things to do.

JEREMY GORMAN
Wilmington, Vt.

John Nichols's argument for impeachment claims to be based in political realism, but misses the most obvious political reality: there is no chance of convicting Bush in a Senate composed of forty-nine Republicans. With this reality, and the public's knowledge that impeachment is futile, should the Democrats invest all or most of their time in an effort that cannot succeed, while fighting a clock that is running against them? I don't think so.

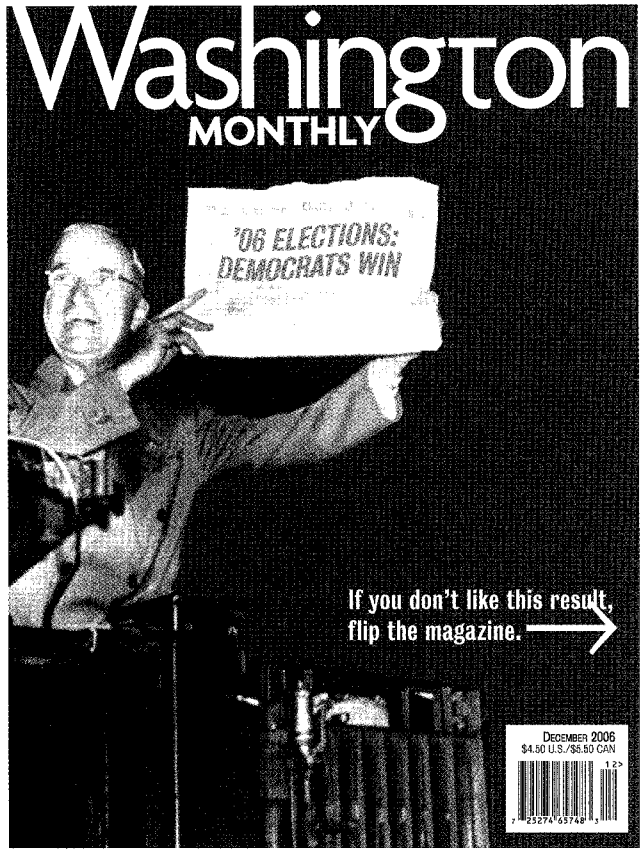
GUY T. SAPERSTEIN
Piedmont, Calif.

Last hope

In my view, David Gergen ("Listen to the Voters on Iraq," December 2006) makes the mistake of so many in constructing an erroneous either-or equation:

Leave Iraq immediately = chaos
Stay the course = eventual order

In Vietnam, the United States was forced to flee. Did Vietnam forever dwell in damnation? No! We are now trading vigorously with that country, and it has taken its place among the nations of the world—all in a matter of about thirty years! Why do we conclude Iraq will self-destruct if we leave? On the contrary, I think the country will be forced



December 2006

> "Impeaching Bush would bring us President Cheney—and how many Americans think that would solve the administration's problems?"

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LETTERS

to face and solve its own problems. Yes, it will be messy for awhile, and yes, all the neighbors, particularly Israel, will be nervous for awhile, but in the end we have to trust that the Iraqis will opt for survival over self-destruction and build a better country, now free of Saddam.

Margaret W. Ostrom
Media, Pa.

To David Gergen's suggested limit—we can't stay on the same path and we can't just pull out immediately—must be added the one condition that could possibly still save the situation: disavowing permanent U.S. bases in Iraq.

If the administration truly cared about the Iraqi government's success, it should have made this declaration soon after the government was formed. Maliki would have become the most important figure in Iraq in the blink of an eye, the one person everyone would have had to deal with.

It may not be too late. Much of the Iraqi resistance to the United States, I believe, is rooted in its view of us as a permanent occupying power. We have been building bases that look permanent, and the Bush administration has said or hinted that it intends to keep some of them. Disavowing that idea will help deflate much of that resistance.

I can't think of a single other thing that could.

Marc Harris
Pennsylvania State University at Altoona College
Altoona, Pa.

Macro managing

Micro credit and other community-based projects play a role in alleviating poverty and suffering ("Tilting at Windmills," by Charles Peters, December 2006). They are not, however, long-term solutions. After a stint in the Peace Corps and more than forty years in Latin America and Africa, I would recommend the use of foreign aid to establish and strengthen universities throughout the developing world. That would accelerate the production of local scientists, businessmen, teachers, politicians, and scholars who could lead and manage the development process. The World Bank, USAID, and other donor agencies have failed to make this type of investment. Until human resource development becomes the focus of foreign aid, its major beneficiaries will remain foreign aid entrepreneurs and bureaucrats based in the United States and Europe.

Dr. Ronald A. Schwarz
Returned Peace Corps Volunteer
Colombia One, 1961–63

You've got votes

In Phil Keisling's review of Aviel Rubin's *Brave New Ballot* ("Election Fraud, American Style," December 2006), Keisling accuses Rubin of feeding "a hyperactive (and bipartisan) obsession with the perfect election system ... [T]he idealist in him seeks a totally secure voting machine, a totally fraud-proof electoral process." Keisling is setting up a straw man. Rubin and many others who are studying this problem have no illusions that perfection is achievable. What they are trying to head off is the threat of an entirely new kind of fraud—wholesale fraud—in which a single individual could sabotage thousands or millions of ballots. Having foreclosed that threat, we'll still have to deal with the many kinds of retail election fraud that we've been managing more or less successfully since the first U.S. election.

The process of counting votes can be immunized against the kind of unprecedented wholesale fraud of which paperless DREs (direct recording electronic voting stations) are capable. We can achieve this immunity by taking DREs out of the business of counting votes altogether.

We would transform the DREs into EBPs—electronic ballot printers. After making her selections on an EBP screen, the voter would get an 8 1/2-by-11-inch paper ballot summarizing her choices. After checking her ballot for accuracy, she would deposit it in a ballot box, just like an old-fashioned paper ballot marked by hand. After the polls closed, these machine-printed ballots could be counted by hand, by optical scanner, or both.

Since Keisling presided over the establishment of Oregon's vote-by-mail system (VBM), his umbrage at Rubin's "casually dismissive half-sentence" characterizing VBM as a "terribly insecure system" is understandable, but his defense of VBM is hardly unbiased. VBM suffers from the disadvantages of all hand-marked ballots: voters are not prevented from overvoting, nor warned about undervoting. Ballots can be invalidated by stray marks or failure to follow directions, and VBM offers new opportunities for election sabotage. Incoming filled-in ballots can be intercepted, outgoing blank ballots can be misdirected by filing false postal forwarding notices, voters' signatures can be forged, votes can be bought, voters can be coerced or intimidated, and blind, senile, or intellectually disabled voters can be "assisted."

Hamilton Richards, PhD
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Tilting at windmills

By Charles Peters

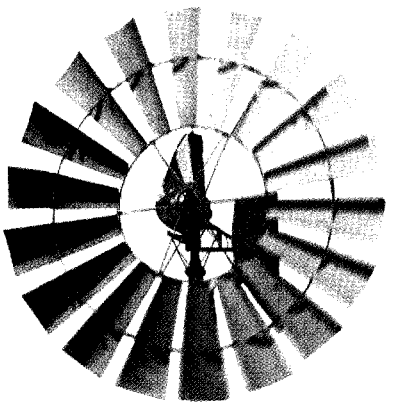
Bag ladies

Some years ago, I wrote about how the shoulder bag that most women were now wearing caused their bodies to tilt in a way that made their walk distinctly less sexy. For understandable reasons, this item found little favor among my female readers. But now I can say I'm just thinking about their health. According to Dr. Jane Sadler of the Baylor Health Care System, "If you think about how you carry a bag, it's usually on one side and you kind of pull your neck to one side and lift your shoulder … It creates strain along the neck and into the nerves that exit the neck and down the shoulder."

This produces a pain in the neck for the women carrying the bag—and for the people standing behind them in security lines. According to a survey cited by Jennifer Harper of the *Washington Times*, "today's women lug around twice as much junk as their mothers," including "the iPod, cell phone, headset, laptop, multiple credit and identity cards, makeup bag, water bottle, and keys for the car, home and work."

A safe bet

Hillary Clinton has a good idea for inspiring a greater sense of urgency among Iraqi leaders to find a political solution to their sectarian antagonism. It is for us to stop supplying them with bodyguards. An Iraqi interviewed by the *Washington Post*'s Jim Hoagland has an even better idea: to abolish the Green



Zone entirely. Without bodyguards and a safe haven to conduct their fruitless squabbling, Iraqi leaders would be forced to either settle their differences or risk being killed themselves.

The right way to do the wrong thing

Although my own conviction is that that our invasion of Iraq was always a terrible idea, and doomed to failure, one can at least argue that having many more troops available for the occupation and providing employment for young Iraqis early on might have given us a chance for success. Now that Bush is making a stab at doing what he should have done four years ago, I am reminded of the strategy followed in Vietnam after General Creighton Abrams replaced General William Westmoreland, whose bloody search-and-destroy missions had cost the lives of far too many Americans and innocent South Vietnamese. Under Abrams, the number of American casualties was sharply reduced, and we concentrated on killing not innocent civilians but Vietcong and North Vietnamese. If it had made sense for American combat troops to be in Vietnam, Abrams's policy would have been the best policy all along. The trouble is that putting combat troops in Vietnam was a bad idea and could not be redeemed even by the best strategy.

Kookoo for Kofi

Kofi Annan has been the victim of harsh and often unfair criticism, but a recent biographer, James Traub, in *The Best Intentions*, works hard to compensate. Indeed, one might say Traub gets carried away by his admiration for the former secretary general. He writes of Annan's "superhuman display of modesty," and describes him as "trailing clouds of glory" while "clad in beautifully cut dark gray suits from Brioni," and speaks of his "moral glamour" as "a spokesman for mankind who looked wonderful in a tuxedo."

Remembering Ford

I shared the warm feelings for Gerald Ford that were so evident in almost everyone during the week of mourning. There were very few discordant moments. A minor one that irritated me was the television commentators who insisted on talking over the music at the funeral, which was often as beautiful as their prattle was mindless. And I was troubled by the failure of so many congressional bigshots to interrupt their

"I wish Jesus had as much of Cervantes and Twain in his soul as they did of him in theirs."

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holidays to greet Ford's body as it returned to Capitol Hill. It was especially desirable that Nancy Pelosi be there. If she is to have any chance of restoring the spirit of comity to the House, she must show a human side that has heretofore not been a conspicuous part of her public persona. Gerald Ford was first and foremost a man of the House. Tip O'Neill would have understood, and he would have showed up.

But now for what upset me the most. It came during the National Cathedral service, when Henry Kissinger praised Ford for having done such a great job of rescuing our South Vietnamese friends when we fled Saigon in 1975. In fact, this was one of Ford's and Kissinger's great failures. They left behind hundreds of thousands of South Vietnamese who had been led to rely on us. The reason is that Ford and Kissinger—and to an even greater extent, Graham Martin, their ambassador, and Thomas Polgar, their CIA station chief in Saigon—did not want to face the fact that South Vietnam was going to fall. It would have been hard enough for us to pull off the rescue if the most careful planning had been done. You had to keep the South Vietnamese forces fighting to provide cover, even as they would have learned we were pulling out some of their countrymen.

That's why I've been writing about the similar situation that now confronts us in Iraq—I know how hard it will be to extricate our friends even if reality is faced. But if you're living in fantasyland, as Bush is with his insane efforts to make us "successful," we're not going to plan now. The truth is that Bush has gotten into such a mess that disorder is likely to prevail whenever we leave, so we have to

THE MONTHLY JOURNALISM AWARD

Charles Pillar, Edmund Sanders, and Robyn Dixon
Los Angeles Times
January 7th & 8th
"Money Clashes With Mission"
"Dark Cloud Over Good Works of Gates Foundation"

The Gates Foundation—run by Microsoft founder Bill Gates, his wife Melinda, and, soon, Warren Buffet—has an endowment larger than the GDP of 70 percent of the world's nations. In part because of the resources at its disposal, the foundation's accomplishments have been remarkable. But a resourceful *L.A. Times* investigation scrutinized thousands of pages of financial data and found that the investments that sustain the foundation's work often directly clash with its philanthropic aims.

In Seattle, the *Times* interviewed one couple who had fallen victim to a predatory lending scheme. The Gates Foundation had invested $2 million in the mortgage company, Ameriquest; it had also awarded $1.2 million to a nonprofit organization that advised the couple on their plight. In Nigeria, the *Times* found a baby who had been immunized by a group funded by the foundation; he also suffered from respiratory trouble caused by nearby oil plants owned by foundation-supported Royal Dutch Shell, BP, Chevron, Eni Corp., and Total. The foundation has invested $423 million in these companies, nearly twice the sum of its immunization programs. The foundation also invests in pharmaceutical companies that drive up costs for AIDS drugs in Africa, and companies charged with using products made by child slave labor.

The *Times* series concluded that the Gates Foundation's wealth gives it "unmatched muscle and potential moral authority," but that it was failing to use its clout to pressure for better corporate behavior. Over the two days following the articles' publication, the foundation published statements promising to review its investment strategies. However, in a January 14 letter to the paper, the foundation's CEO explained that "it is naive to suggest that an individual stockholder" could help end the abuses of the companies it invests in.

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plan now to rescue our friends even in the presence of chaos.

When we leave

I'm glad to report that I've been joined in this cause by some important allies—George Packer in the *New Republic* (and I understand he has another piece on the subject planned for the *New York Times* magazine), Senator Edward Kennedy in the *Washington Post*, Gina Chon and Joel Millman in the *Wall Street Journal*, and two alumni of this magazine, Robert Worth in the *New York Times*, and David Ignatius in the *Washington Post*. Worth's piece (which was cowritten by Sabrina Tavernise) was sufficiently impressive that the *New York Times* made it its lead story on the front page. And Ignatius was devastating in his detailed account of the friends we left behind in South Vietnam, many of them to die at the hands of their communist enemies.

Lighten up

Religions generally tend to be short on humor. I'm a Christian, but I wish Jesus had as much of Cervantes and Twain in his soul as they did of him in theirs. All this gets me to Islam, which, I must say, seems to me the most humorless of all religions. Even in a relatively tolerant Muslim nation like Morocco, a magazine editor and a reporter were recently convicted of defamation for printing what the *Washington Post*'s Craig Whitlock describes as "heard-on-the-street jokes about religion and politics." Whitlock gives this example: "One bit featured prankster angels playing a joke on a companion of the prophet Muhammad by making him think he was destined to spend eternity in hell. As the holy man panics, he is interrupted by the punch line: 'Smile! You're on *Candid Camera*!'"

Not exactly hilarious, but how could anyone find it offensive?

Who, when, where, and ...

On January 7th the Discovery Times channel featured a new documentary about the deaths of the Sago miners. Its description of what the miners and their families went through was heartbreaking. But it left me frustrated and even angry at the producers for their failure to look into what could have been done to prevent the disaster, or at least to save the miners after the explosion occurred. At one point we heard that miners frequently pounded on steel beams in the hope that the sound would carry to the surface, and there was a machine in nearby Pittsburgh that would have enabled those on the surface to hear the pounding. But the documentary did not say another word about why the machines didn't get to Sago. Nor was there any explanation for the fact that the emergency oxygen supply only lasted an hour, or for the lack of emergency communication equipment in the mine. This was "sob sister" journalism, and I hope it will remind reporters not only of their duty to report what went wrong, but also to find out why it went wrong.

Upwardly mobile

In writing my book *Five Days in Philadelphia*, I had occasion to reflect on the differences between the America of 1940 and of today. One difference that was relatively trivial, but still revealing, was that there were no stadium skyboxes in 1940. This meant that when people attended sports events, they watched together. By contrast, the privileged of today are ensconced in climate-controlled private boxes with other services devoted exclusively to them. But what I didn't know is that tax policy actually encourages skyboxes at college stadiums. According to Daniel Golden of the *Wall Street Journal*, the money the wealthy pay to finance skyboxes for themselves at college stadiums is deductible as a charitable contribution. Golden reports that this deduction has sparked a boom in skybox construction.

The inspiration factor

The other differences between now and 1940 continue to fascinate me, not just as historical curiosities, but as evidence of what we could be today because of what we actually were back then. Americans were willing to subject themselves to a military draft so that people from all social and economic classes would share the dangers of military service. People were willing to increase their taxes to pay for the war they feared was coming—and to pay for that war, they raised their taxes to a top rate of 90 percent. The dominant Christianity found expression not in the current narrow-mindedness of the right, but in the generosity of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal. Of course, part of the reason for these differences was the people themselves—their egalitarianism, their generosity, and their willingness to sacrifice for the common good. But part of it was that we had an inspirational leader, which is why I'm fascinated by Barack Obama. Whatever his demerits, he is the only candidate who has the ability to inspire.

Embassy slaves

One long-hidden Washington scandal recently emerged in two news stories. It is that foreign diplomats stationed in Washington, or at least some of them, practice slavery. They bring foreign nationals here as servants, and abuse them in various ways under the protection of diplomatic immunity and an American media that has been incurious for far too long.

But now we have two different items in the *Washington Post*. One story, by Henri E. Cauvin, describes the wife of a Kuwaiti diplomat, who, angry at an Indian servant, Mani Kumari Sabbithi, for a mistake made in preparing a meal, pulled Sabbithi's hair and threatened to

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cut off her tongue, as the diplomat himself screamed at Sabbithi, pushed her to the floor, and knocked her out.

Post columnist Colbert King describes a Paraguayan woman forced to work seventy-seven hours a week for an official of the Argentinean embassy. King points out that the State Department routinely sides with employers in these cases, on the grounds of diplomatic immunity. King argues that employment contracts could come under the "professional and commercial activity" exception to diplomatic immunity under the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations. I hope Condoleezza Rice is listening to him.

The battle of the beds

Speaking of servants, I'm reminded of a *New York Times* story about hotel maids that I've been meaning to tell you about. Its author, Steven Greenhouse, describes how hotel maids have become victims of the "amenities arms race" that has been escalating among the nation's fancier hotels. According to Greenhouse, "several new studies" report that thousands are suffering from "arm, shoulder and lower back injuries." The main culprit seems to be what Greenhouse describes as the "battle of the beds," in which "superthick mattresses, plush duvets and decorative bed skirts have been added, and five pillows rather than the pedestrian three now rest on a king-size bed."

Having to lift 115-pound mattresses is bad enough, but Greenhouse adds that the maids are "having to rush because they are assigned the same number of rooms as before while being required to deal with far more per room: more pillows, more sheets, more amenities like bathrobes to hang up and coffeepots to wash."

Bad math

"Poor students are shortchanged by federal and state school aid policies," reports Nancy Zuckerbrod of the Associated Press. Guaranteed minimum amounts go to small states, so Vermont gets "more money per poor student than do more populous states." And states that spend more money for education generally get more dollars for their poor students than the states with more poor students. Maryland, which has far fewer poor students than Arkansas, gets about 50 percent more federal aid per poor child—$1,522, compared to only $1,009 for Arkansas.

Pondering Petraeus

Bush's new man in Iraq, Lieutenant General David Petraeus, displayed at least some aptitude for winning Iraqi hearts and minds when he was in command in Mosul in 2003. Later, however, he was in charge of training the Iraqi army. One has to ask the obvious question: If he had succeeded in that job, would more American troops be needed now?

Whatever keeps the coal coming

As we reported, Ronald Wooten, the new director of West Virginia's Office of Miners' Health Safety and Training, has a reputation as a company man. He did nothing to dispel that reputation when he recently described the Sago mine as "a well-operated coal mine." During 2004 and 2005 it had an injury rate of more than twice the national average, and was cited for more than 260 violations by the U.S. Mine Safety and Health Administration, according to the *Charleston Gazette*'s Ken Ward Jr. (For Ward's take on the Bush administration's mine-safety record, see page 22.)

Polly-voo jihad?

In our last issue, we complained about the failure of the FBI and CIA to have enlisted enough Arabic speakers after 9/11 made the need obvious. Now comes Lieutenant General Keith D. Alexander, director of the National Security Agency, to reveal, according to *Washington Times* reporters Bill Gertz and Rowan Scarborough, that the NSA has a "backlog of untranslated electronic intelligence leads on terrorists that has grown since 2001." "Grown" is the scary word. We knew that we were way behind in 2001. Now they tell us that we're even worse off.

Alexander adds, "[T]oday's backlog is no longer confined to Arabic and its multiple dialects, but also includes a variety of other less commonly taught languages." He concludes that "the translation backlog can prevent the timely distribution of key information to the NSA's customers." This is not comforting news. These "customers" are the FBI, the CIA, the Pentagon, and the White House.

Deprived in D.C.

With the latest federal pay raises, the average white-collar employee in the Washington area is now making $86,791 a year. As I pointed out last month, 80 percent of Americans make less than that. And government employees enjoy far more generous health insurance plans, pensions, and vacations than do most Americans. So when they and their congressional allies—House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer is the most prominent—start moaning about their pay, they should realize that most of their countrymen are not going to find it easy to identify with them.

The chief's complaint

Chief Justice John Roberts recently joined the complainers on government pay, in his case judicial salaries. It seems to me that this position is inconsistent with the traditional argument of conservatives like Roberts that employees should be paid according to what they produce. In the case of the Supreme Court, this would require not a pay increase, but a stiff

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pay cut. In 1986 the Supreme Court heard 175 cases. Last year, it heard just eighty-two and seems on track to hear even fewer this year.

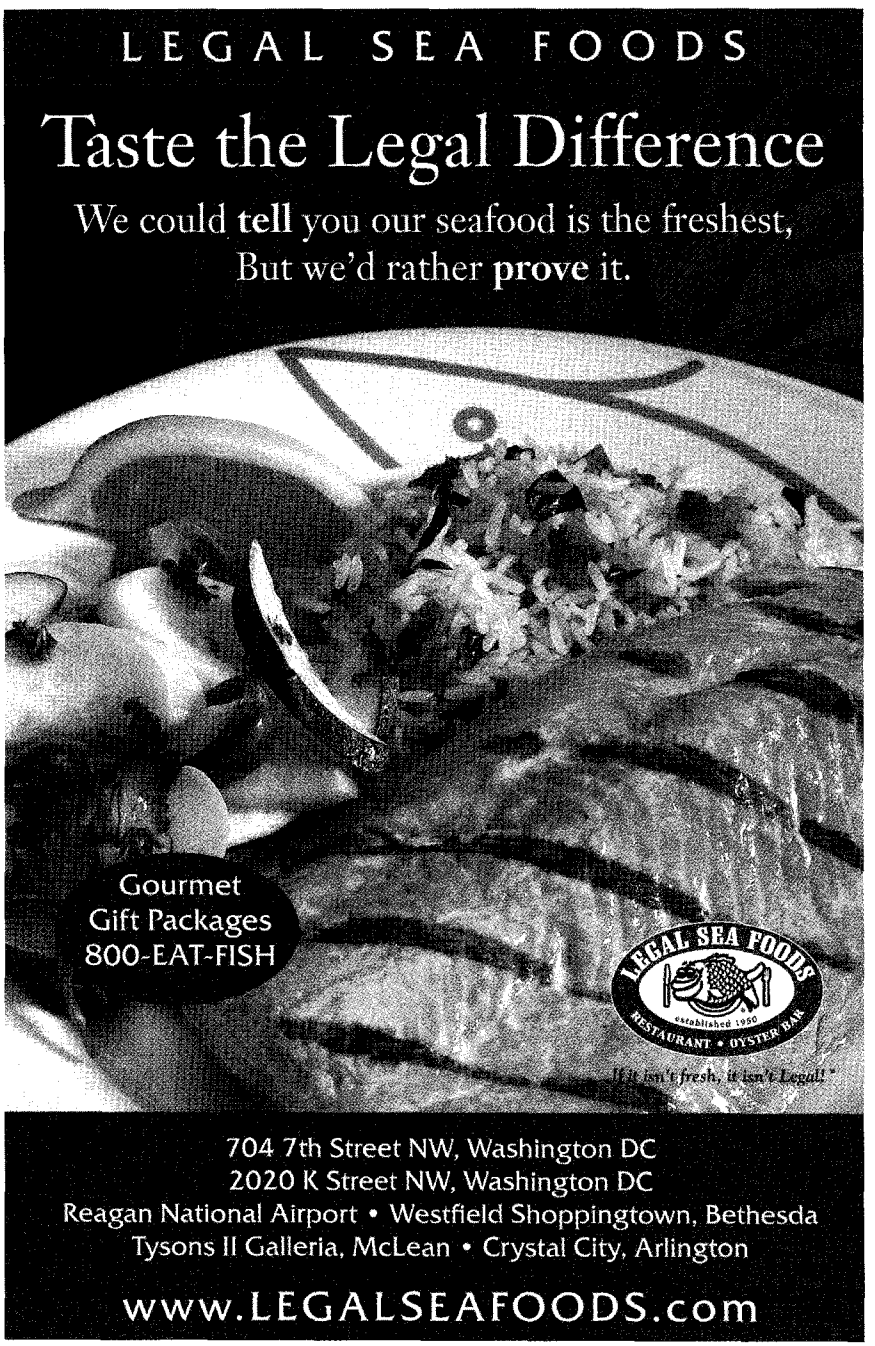
Unimpeachable illogic

Bill Clinton was impeached for fooling around with someone other than his spouse and lying about it, sins that put him in the company of most American males and a significant portion of American women. George W. Bush has gotten us into a war that has earned us the hatred of hundreds of millions of Muslims and cost us $350 billion so far; the war's total price will almost certainly ultimately exceed a trillion dollars, money that could have been used for humane purposes instead ofkilling. His war has cost the lives of more than 3,000 American soldiers, wounded more than 23,000, permanently maiming many of them, and killed 26,000 Iraqis in just the last twelve months. Yet he remains in office. Does this make sense?

A friend I met too late

Having recently become an octogenarian, I have to confess that I scan each day's obituaries for evidence of those who have managed to live longer. In the process, I occasionally learn about people I realize I would have liked to know. I recognized one the moment read the headline over his obituary: "Edward V. Dorsey, 82; Preached the Word and Played the Ponies." Dorsey, a Marylander, received early education in the sport of kings from his uncle, who was a professional gambler, and there were tracks at Bowie and Pimlico and Havre de Grace, where he could have honed his skills as a youthful bettor. After serving in the Army in World War II, earning a Bronze Star and Purple Heart during the Battle of the Bulge, he became a postmaster in Upper Marlboro, Maryland. A devoted Democrat, he drank Heineken beer because it was said to be John F. Kennedy's favorite. When he retired from the Post Office he decided to become a preacher. For his theological education, he chose a seminary in Lexington, Kentucky, which just happens to be next to the Keeneland racetrack. "As the oldest member of the seminary class by several decades," writes Joe Holley in the *Washington Post*, "the mentoring he gave his fellow seminarians included how to lay smart bets."

In 1987, he became the rector of Grace Episcopal Church in Princess Anne, Maryland, where "his political proclivities found their way into his sermons" but were forgiven even by his conservative parishioners because of his good humor. If only our paths had crossed. ♦



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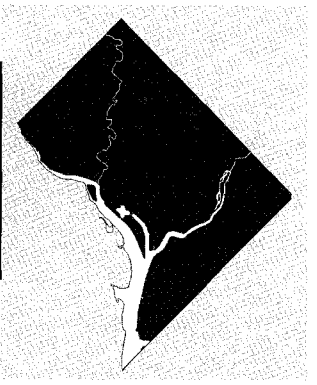
Ten Miles Square

"... such district (not exceeding ten miles square) ... [shall] become the seat of the government of the United States." —THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES



Hassling the Hofe

GETTY IMAGES, PHOTOGRAPHER **RICHARD ELLIS**

If you're a senator with reservations about our policy in Iraq, maybe you should listen more to James Inhofe (R-OK). Inhofe has traveled to Iraq to observe the situation firsthand, and he wishes that his colleagues would disregard negative press coverage and pay more attention to some of the good news from the region. Therefore, in the interests of fairness, the Washington Monthly *has compiled all of Senator Inhofe's reporting as shared, repeatedly, with his colleagues on the Senate Armed Services Committee. Now we, too, can perhaps see the other side of the story:*

I've been there quite a few times, twice in the last three months. And you know, you go over like in the Sunni triangle, the experience over there with General Madhi, who used to—all of you know him—he used to be the brigade commander for Saddam Hussein in Fallujah. He hated Americans, and he's been training, embedded training, with our Marines. And he looked at us and said, when the Marines had to rotate and go out, he actually cried. Here is a general that just hated Americans under Saddam Hussein, and he has actually renamed his Iraqi security forces the "Fallujah Marines."

— JAMES INHOFE, HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, June 23, 2005

And as I go over there, and I've been over there many times, the first thing that is said to me by the troops—these are Marines and Army—is, "Why is it that they don't like us?"—and they're talking about the media—"Why is it that people back home don't have a clear picture of our successes?" If we could just have the picture of these guys in Fallujah—General Madhi, who was actually a brigade commander for Saddam Hussein, who is now the brigade commander for the Iraqi secu-

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rity forces—he was so impressed with what the Marines were doing there that he changed the name to the "Fallujah Marines." And here's a guy who hated Americans before then. It's all because of the embedded training with the Marines.

— JAMES INHOFE, HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, June 30, 2005

If you rely on the media and the distorted way in which the media is reporting what's going on there, you're not going to get a very good idea of what's really going on. I can remember so well spending one whole trip in the Sunni triangle, in Fallujah, just talked to the troops there ... And the former brigade commander that hated Americans—he was a brigade commander for Saddam Hussein—now, after having experienced embedded training with our Marines over there, has totally changed his mind. He loves them. He actually cried when the rotation came. I mean, these things are actually happening over there. He renamed the Fallujah security forces the "Fallujah Marines."

— JAMES INHOFE, HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, September 29, 2005

I would just mention a couple of little anecdotal things and maybe ask you how we can get this out so that people can know what's going on. One would be in Fallujah, where we had a former brigade commander for Saddam Hussein who had hated Americans until he started training his Iraqi security forces with our Marines. Now, as a result of that, he learned to love the Marines and love the American people and the freedoms that we're bringing to that country. And right in the center of Fallujah, he told me that when they rotated the Marines out, he said, "We got together"—they'd been involved in embedded training—said, "We actually cried together" at the time they left. Now, that story's—nobody ever hears things like that.

— JAMES INHOFE, HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, October 25, 2005

You mentioned this morning, General Schoomaker, that the eastern half of Baghdad is now secured by the Iraqis, not by the Americans. What you didn't mention is that the general in charge of that is General Madhi, who was ... the brigade commander in Fallujah for Saddam Hussein who hated Americans. And I was over there when the—they started the embedded training with Marines, and he learned to love the Americans so much that he told me that when they rotated the Marines out, he cried. In fact, he renamed the Fallujah Iraqi security forces the "Fallujah Marines" ... So I think these great success stories like that just go—they seem to go unnoticed.

— JAMES INHOFE, HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, February 7, 2006

When you hear people who have not been there and depend on press reports, there's no way that they can get the resolve that our troops have. There's no way—I will share with you, General Pace, since this is up in the Marines' area in Fallujah, an experience up there with this Dr. Madhi that you've met many times, I'm sure. Dr. Madhi—or General Madhi—was actually the brigade commander for Saddam Hussein. He hated Americans until he started embedded training with Marines, and he learned to love them so much that he said that when they rotated them out, that they cried. And he then renamed the Iraqi security forces at Fallujah the "Fallujah Marines." Things like that that are going on that you can only get by being there and experiencing it.

— JAMES INHOFE, HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, August 3, 2006

Now, a minute ago we were talking about Fallujah. I have had occasion to be there three or four times and during all the elections, I might add. When General Mahdi was in charge there—a guy, a general who really didn't like Americans to start with until we started—they started their embedded training with Marines. And you can remember the story that he said, when they rotated them out, they all got together and cried. You know, they became very close. They thought that was a very successful program. Now, that's kind of a model, in my mind, of embedded training.

— JAMES INHOFE, HEARING OF THE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE, November 15, 2006

I was pleased to hear that the president will increase by 4,000 the number of Marines in the al-Anbar province. I have visited Fallujah in the al-Anbar province and witnessed the success of U.S. Marines embedded with Iraqi units. Fallujah has long been the model for embedding troops and they will now apply that model to the rest of Iraq.

— JAMES INHOFE, RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS TO NATION, January 10, 2007 ♦

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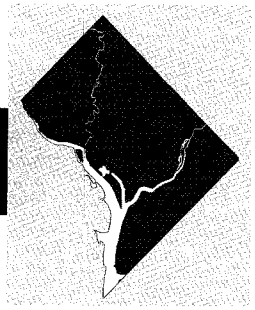

Tips for Think-Tank Pundits

Ten ways to drive your panel wild.

By Asia Policy Point

In times dominated by momentous questions of war and foreign policy, a particular kind of Washingtonian is bound to thrive: the think-tank pundit. But competition is relentless. Good judgment and extensive research may help advance a career, but what really matters in Washington is an elusive quality known as "Say-sO Superiority," or SOS. Staffers at Asia Policy Point, a Washington foreign policy research center, devised the following highly scientific measure to calculate a speaker's SOS score (and to keep themselves awake during luncheon talks).

Sentence used in speech	Points given
Mention of previous government employment or appointment:	
"As we used to say in the Oval Office ..."	10
"While it wasn't the hardest peace negotiation I've ever led ..."	9
"After boarding the Secretary's plane to Serbia ..."	7
"One reason my lanyard policy decisively improved embassy morale ..."	0
Mention of recent trip to a war zone or country not recognized by the U.S.:	
Sadr City	10
Fallujah	8
Tora Bora	7
The Green Zone Burger King	3
Darfur	1
Mention of recreational activity with senior U.S. official:	
"When I was jogging recently with ..."	
Condi	9
John Negroponte	8
Bob Gates	8
W.	4
The Vice President	0
Mention of recreational activity with foreign official or leader:	
"When I was skiing recently with ..."	
Prince Bandar	9
Tony Blair	7
Angela Merkel	6
Hugo Chávez	2
Mahmoud Ahmadinejad	0

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Sentence used in speech	Points given
Mention of relationship with former U.S. president or cabinet official:	
"When I was playing bridge recently with ..."	
Bill Clinton	10
Colin Powell	9
Brent Scowcroft	8
Henry Kissinger	6
Jimmy Carter	0.5
John Bolton	0
Ability to offer advice to announced or potential presidential candidate:	
"When I was sharing my thoughts on switchgrass recently with ..."	
Barack	9
Hillary	9
Newt	6
Senator McCain	3
Tom Vilsack	1
Mention of exclusive, invitation-only forum (add extra point if a featured participant):	
Camp David	8
Davos	7
Aspen	5
Friendster	0
Mention of conversation with "ordinary" citizen of country within area of expertise:	
Sunni insurgent	10
Contented Indian call-center employee	5
Idealistic Iranian student	3
Garrulous Nigerian taxi driver	1
Room service	0
Excuse for being five minutes late for speaking engagement:	
Meeting with Ayatollah Sistani ran late	10
Meeting with Dick Cheney ran late	6
Meeting with Norm Mineta ran late	1
Felt barfy	0
Preparation/poise:	
Jotting down speaking notes while being introduced	10
Complimenting co-panelist	8
Proposing "a new Marshall plan"	6
Wearing a brown suit	2
Screaming "*Allahu akbar* "	0

APP is a Washington, D.C., nonprofit research center studying the U.S. policy relationship with Japan and Northeast Asia. A working version of this game, called "Inside the Green Zone," can be found at http://www.jiaponline.org.

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Apocalypse Not

Much of Washington assumes that leaving Iraq will lead to a bigger bloodbath. It's time to question that assumption.

By Robert Dreyfuss

The Bush administration famously based its argument for invading Iraq on best-case assumptions: that we would be greeted as liberators; that a capable democratic government would quickly emerge; that our military presence would be modest and temporary; and that Iraqi oil revenues would pay for everything. All these assumptions, of course, turned out to be wrong.

Now, many of the same people who pushed for the invasion are arguing for escalating our military involvement based on a worst-case assumption: that if America leaves quickly, the Apocalypse will follow. "How would [advocates of withdrawal] respond to the eruption of full-blown civil war in Iraq and the massive ethnic cleansing it would produce?" write Robert Kagan and William Kristol in the *Weekly Standard*. "How would they respond to the intervention of Iraq's neighbors, including Iran, Syria, and Turkey? And most important, what would they propose to do if, as a result of our withdrawal and the collapse of Iraq, al Qaeda and other terrorist groups managed to establish a safe haven from which to launch attacks against the United States and its allies?"

Similar rhetoric has been a staple of President Bush's recent speeches. If the United States "fails" in Iraq—his euphemism for withdrawal—the president said in January, "[r]adical Islamic extremists would grow in strength and gain new recruits. They would be in a better position to topple moderate governments, create chaos in the region, and use oil revenues to fund their ambitions ... Our enemies would have a safe haven from which to plan and launch attacks on the American people."

This kind of thinking is also accepted by a wide range of liberal hawks and conservative realists who, whether or not they originally supported the invasion, now argue that the United States must stay. It was evident in the Iraq Study Group, led by James Baker and Lee Hamilton, which, participants say, was alarmed by expert advice that withdrawal would produce potentially catastrophic consequences. Even many antiwar liberals believe that a quick pullout would cause a bloodbath. Some favor withdrawal anyway, to cut our own losses. Others demur out of geostrategic concerns, a feeling of moral obligation to the Iraqis, or the simple fear that Democrats will be blamed for the ensuing chaos.

But if it was foolish to accept the best-case assumptions that led us to invade Iraq, it's also foolish not to question the worst-case assumptions that undergird arguments for staying. Is it possible that a quick withdrawal of U.S. forces will lead to a dramatic worsening of the situation? Of course it is, just as it's possible that maintaining or escalating troops there could fuel the unrest. But it's also worth considering the possibility that the worst may not happen: What if the doomsayers are wrong?

The al-Qaeda myth

To understand why it's a mistake to assume the worst, let's begin with the most persistent, Bush-fostered fear about post-occupation Iraq: that al-Qaeda or other Islamic extremists will seize control once America departs; or that al-Qaeda will establish a safe haven in a rump, lawless Sunnistan and use that territory as a base, much as it used Taliban-controlled Afghanistan.

The idea that al-Qaeda might take over Iraq is nonsensical. Numerous estimates show that the group called Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) and its foreign fighters

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Robert Dreyfuss is an independent journalist in Alexandria, Virginia, and the author of **Devil's Game: How the United States Helped Unleash Fundamentalist Islam.** His Web site is www.robertdreyfuss.com.

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comprise only 5 to 10 percent of the Sunni insurgents' forces. Most Sunni insurgents are simply what Wayne White—who led the State Department's intelligence effort on Iraq until 2005—calls POIs, or "pissed-off Iraqis," who are fighting because "they don't like the occupation." But the foreign terrorist threat is frequently advanced by the Bush administration, often with an even more alarming variant—that al-Qaeda will use Iraq as a headquarters for the establishment of a global caliphate. In December 2005, Rear Admiral William D. Sullivan, vice director for strategic plans and policy within the Joint Chiefs of Staff, delivered a briefing in which he warned that al-Qaeda hoped to "revive the caliphate," with its capital in Baghdad. President Bush himself has warned darkly that after controlling Iraq, Islamic militants will "establish a radical Islamic empire that spans from Spain to Indonesia."

The reality is far different. Even if AQI came to dominate the Sunni resistance, it would be utterly incapable of seizing Baghdad against the combined muscle of the Kurds and the Shiites, who make up four fifths of the country. (The Shiites, in particular, would see the battle against the Sunni extremist AQI—which regards the Shiites as a heretical, non-Muslim sect—as a life-or-death struggle.)

Nor is it likely that AQI would ever be allowed to use the Sunni areas of Iraq as a base from which to launch attacks on foreign targets. In Afghanistan, al-Qaeda had a full-fledged partnership with the Taliban and helped finance the state. In Iraq, the secular Baathists and former Iraqi military officers who lead the main force of the resistance despise AQI, and many of the Sunni tribes in western Iraq are closely tied to Saudi Arabia's royal family, which is bitterly opposed to al-Qaeda. AQI has, at best, a marriage of convenience with the rest of the Sunni-led resistance. Over the past two years, al-Qaeda-linked forces in Iraq have often waged pitched battles with the mainstream Iraqi resistance and Sunni tribal forces. Were U.S. troops to leave Iraq today, the Baathists, the military, and the tribal leaders would likely join forces to exterminate AQI in short order.

It's also worth questioning whether the forces that call themselves Al-Qaeda in Iraq have any real ties to whatever remains of Osama bin Laden's weakened, Pakistan-based leadership. Such ties, if they exist, have always been murky at best, even under the leadership of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. With al-Zarqawi's elimination in 2006 and his replacement by a collegial group, these ties are even muddier. Although it's convenient for the Bush administration to claim that al-Qaeda is a Comintern-like international force, it is really a loose ideological movement, and its Iraq component is fed largely by jihadists who flock to the country because they see the war as a holy cause. Once the United States withdraws, Iraq will no longer be a magnet for that jihad.

Though things have gone horrendously wrong in Iraq, there are many factors that could provide the glue to put Humpty Dumpty back together again.

The Sunni-Shiite civil war

The doomsayers' second great fear is that the Sunni-Shiite sectarian civil war could escalate further, reaching near-genocidal levels and sucking in Iraq's neighbors. "The biggest danger as we draw down is that the Shiites will run roughshod over the Sunnis," says Brian Katulis of the Center for American Progress, whose exit strategy, "Strategic Redeployment 2.0," is a blueprint for many Democrats on Capitol Hill. Similarly, Wayne White, who advised the Baker-Hamilton ISG, says that because of Baghdad's importance, both Sunni and Shiite forces would probably rush to fill a vacuum in the capital if the United States withdraws.

In fact, it's hard to find an analysis of the Iraq crisis that *doesn't* predict an expanded Sunni-Shiite war once the United States departs. But let's look at the countervailing factors—and there are many.

First, the United States is doing little, if anything, to restrain ethnic cleansing, either in Baghdad neighborhoods or Sunni and Shiite enclaves surrounding the capital. Indeed, under its current policy, the United States is arming and training one side in a civil war by bolstering the Shiite-controlled army and police.

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Neither the Sunnis nor the Shiites have much in the way of armor or heavy weapons—tanks, major artillery, helicopters, and the like. Without heavy weaponry, neither side can take the war deep into the other's territory.

In theory, Baghdad is roughly divided into Shiite east Baghdad on one side of the Tigris River, and Sunni west Baghdad on the other side. But in isolated neighborhoods such as Adhamiya, a Sunni part of east Baghdad, and Kadhimiya, a Shiite enclave in west Baghdad, ugly ethnic cleansing is proceeding apace. The same is true along a necklace of Sunni towns south of the capital, in an area that is predominantly Shiite; in mixed Sunni-Shiite towns such as Samarra, the largest city of predominantly Sunni Salahuddin Province, north of Baghdad; and in Diyala Province, northeast of Baghdad. In these areas, it is facile to assert that U.S. troops are restraining the death squads and religiously inspired killers on both sides. And it would be impossible for us to do so even with a much greater increase in American troops than the president has called for.

Second, although battle lines are hardening and militias on both sides are becoming self-sustaining, the civil war is limited by physical constraints. Neither the Sunnis nor the Shiites have much in the way of armor or heavy weapons—tanks, major artillery, helicopters, and the like. Without heavy weaponry, neither side can take the war deep into the other's territory. "They're not good on offense," says Warren Marik, a retired CIA officer who worked in Iraq in the 1990s. "They can't assault positions." Shiites may have numbers on their side. But because the Sunnis have most of Iraq's former army officers, and their resistance militia boasts thousands of highly trained soldiers, they're unlikely to be overrun by the Shiite majority. Equally, the minority Sunnis won't be able to seize Shiite parts of Baghdad or major Shiite cities in the south. Presuming neither side gets its hands on heavy weapons, once you take U.S. forces out of the equation the Sunnis and Shiites would ultimately reach an impasse.

Even if post-occupation efforts to create a new political compact among Iraqis fail, the most likely outcome is, again, a bloody Sunni-Shiite stalemate, accompanied by continued ethnic cleansing in mixed areas. But that, of course, is no worse than the path Iraq is already on under U.S. occupation.

A third fear is that Iraq's neighbors will support their proxies in this fight. Indeed, they probably will—but within limits. Iran, which is already assisting various Shiite parties (especially the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq), would continue to do so. And Sunni Arab states like Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Jordan would line up behind Iraq's Sunnis. Even so, neither Shiite Iran nor the Sunni Arab countries would likely risk a regional conflagration by providing their Iraqi proxies with the heavy weapons that would enable them to wage offensive operations in each other's heartland.

The only power that could qualitatively worsen Iraq's sectarian civil war is the United States. Washington continues to arm and train the Shiites, although so far it has resisted Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki's pleas to provide Iraq's Shiite-led army and police with heavy weapons, armor, and an air force. Only if that policy changed, and the United States began to create a true Shiite army in Iraq, would the Sunni Arab states likely feel compelled to build up Iraq's Sunni paramilitary militias into something resembling a traditional army.

Thus, even if we assume that Iraq's parties cannot achieve some sort of reconciliation as the United States withdraws, an American pullout is hardly guaranteed to unleash unbridled chaos. On the contrary, each year since 2003 that American troops have remained in Iraq, the violence has escalated steadily.

A Kurdish power grab?

The third major concern about a post-occupation Iraq—although it gets less attention than it deserves—is the possibility of a crisis triggered by a Kurdish

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power grab in Kirkuk, the city at the heart of Iraq's northern oil fields. Since 2003, the Kurds have been waging a systematic, ugly round of ethnic cleansing, packing Kirkuk with Kurds, kidnapping or driving out Arab residents (many of them settled there by Saddam), and stacking the city council with Kurdish partisans.

Though Kurdish Iraq is mostly quiet and relatively prosperous under the Kurdistan Regional Government that controls three northeastern provinces, the Kurds may be tempted to expand their territory and secede from Iraq. Under the occupation-imposed constitution, the Kurds have the right to hold a referendum in Kirkuk later this year that would probably put that oil-rich area under the control of the KRG; the Baker-Hamilton ISG called the referendum "explosive" and recommended that it be postponed. Alternatively, the Kurds might opt to take advantage of the Sunni-Shiite civil war to seize Kirkuk by force. Either way, most Kurds know that a Kurdish-controlled Kirkuk is an essential precondition for their ultimate independence from Iraq.

It's hard to exaggerate the dangers inherent in a Kurdish grab for Kirkuk. Such a move would inflame Iraq's Arab population (both Sunnis and Shiites), impinge on other minorities (including Turkmen and Christians), and provoke an outburst of ethnic cleansing in the city. Iraq's two-sided civil war would become a three-sided affair.

But although this scenario sounds alarming, the reality is that, in the event of an American withdrawal, the Kurds would find it exceedingly difficult either to take Kirkuk or to declare independence. An independent Kurdistan would be landlocked, surrounded by hostile nations, and would possess a weak paramilitary army incapable of matching Iran, Arab Iraq, or Turkey. If Kurdistan were to secede without gaining Kirkuk's oil, it would not be an economically viable nation. Even with the oil, the Kurds would have to depend on pipelines through Iraq and Turkey to export any significant amount. Nor would Turkey, with its large Kurdish minority, stand for a breakaway Kurdish state, and the Kurds know that the Turkish armed forces would overwhelm them.

Conversely, under the U.S. occupation—or,

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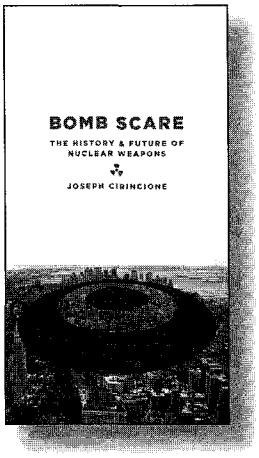

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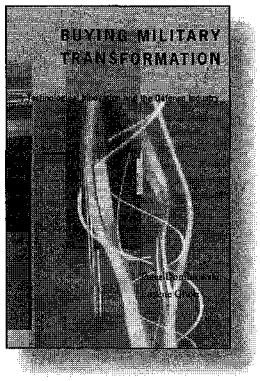

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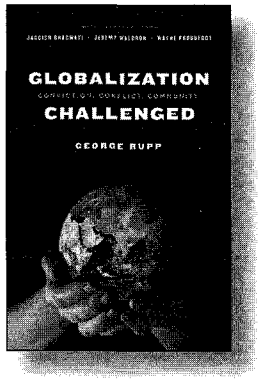

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perhaps, because of it—the Kurds apparently feel emboldened to press their advantage in Kirkuk, despite the dire consequences. And if the United States were to adopt the idea floated by some in Washington of building permanent bases in Kurdistan, it would embolden the Kurds further. (The threat of a Turkish invasion is the chief deterrent to any move by the Kurds against Kirkuk, but as long as the United States maintains a presence in Kurdistan, the Turks will be reluctant to check the Kurds, for fear of running into U.S. troops.) Thus, by staying or by creating bases in Kurdistan, the United States is more likely to foster a Kurdish-Arab civil war in Iraq.

Will the center hold?

Not only is the worst-case scenario far from a sure thing in the event of an American withdrawal, but there is also a best-case scenario. Precisely because the idea of all-out civil war and a regional blowup involving Iran, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey is so horrifying, all the political forces inside and outside Iraq have many incentives not to go there.

Certainly, four years into the war, passions on all sides have been inflamed, communal tensions bared, and the secular, urban Iraqi middle class has either fled or been decimated. The mass terror perpetuated by armed gangs of extremists now occupies center stage. The broken Iraqi state has ceased to exist outside the Green Zone, the economy is devastated, and unemployment is believed to be hovering around 50 percent.

Yet the neoconservatives and the Bush administration weren't entirely wrong in 2003 when they expressed confidence in the underlying strength of the Iraqi body politic. Though things have gone horrendously awry, there are many factors that could provide the glue to put Humpty Dumpty back together again.

Contrary to the conventional wisdom in Washington, Iraq is not a make-believe state cobbled together after World War I, but a nation united by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, just as the Nile unites Egypt. Historically, the vast majority of Iraqis have not primarily identified themselves according to their sect, as Sunnis or Shiites. Of course, as the civil war escalates, more Iraqis *are* identifying by sect, and tensions are worsening. But it is not too late to resurrect some of the comity that once existed. The current war is not a conflict between all Sunnis and all Shiites, but a violent clash of extremist paramilitary armies. Most Iraqis do not support the extremists on either side. According to a poll conducted in June 2006 by the International Republican Institute, "seventy-eight per cent of Iraqis, including a majority of Shiites, opposed the division of Iraq along ethnic and sectarian lines."

In addition, the country's vast oil reserves, conceivably the world's largest, could help hold Iraq together. Iraqi politicians are currently devising a law that would ratify the central government's control of all of the country's oil wealth. Even the corruption that now cripples Iraq tethers Iraqi political leaders to the central government and to the idea of Iraq as a nation-state. "None of the big players really want civil war," says an Iraqi military official closely affiliated with Ahmad Chalabi's Iraqi National Congress. "None of them want to give up the regular flow of funds that they get now from corruption."

What most Iraqis do seem to want, according to numerous polls, is for American forces to leave. Even within the current, skewed Iraqi political system, a majority of Iraq's parliament supports a U.S. withdrawal. If we add to the mix the powerful Sunni-led resistance, including former Baathists, Sunni nationalists, and tribes, an overwhelming majority wants to end the occupation.

This shared desire could be another crucial force in helping maintain the integrity of Iraq. The catch-22 of Iraqi politics is that any Iraqi government created or supported by the United States is instantly suspect in Iraqi eyes. By the same token, a nationalist government that succeeds in ushering U.S. forces out of Iraq would have overwhelming support from most Iraqis on most sides of the conflict. With that support, such a government might be able to make the difficult compromises—like amending the constitution to give minority protections to Sunnis—that the Maliki government has been unable or unwilling to make but that most observers believe are crucial to any political settlement that might end the fighting.

It is clear that there are many features of Iraq's current landscape that lend themselves to the eventual creation of a stable, postwar nation—although rebuilding the country will take generations. It is, at this point, the best we can hope for. Like all best-case scenarios, it might or might not happen. But the very same can be said of the worst-case scenario—a scenario that war hawks portray as a certainty and wave, like a bloody shirt, to scare decision-makers and members of Congress into supporting a failed strategy. ♦

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Shafted

How the Bush administration reversed decades of progress on mine safety.

By Ken Ward Jr.

On the afternoon of September 23, 2001, thirty-two miners were repairing drilling machines and hoisting tunnel supports into place in the No. 5 mine of Jim Walter Resources Inc., in Brookwood, Alabama. The No. 5 is North America's deepest coal mine, tracking the six-foot-high Blue Creek seam almost half a mile beneath the rolling hills just east of Tuscaloosa.

At about 5:20 p.m., a chunk of ceiling dropped onto a battery charger deep in the mine's tunnels. The impact set off a spark, which ignited a pocket of methane gas. The small explosion injured four miners, including Gaston Adams Jr., who was hurt so badly that he could not walk. When coworkers rushed to his aid, a second, much larger blast ripped through the mine, killing Adams and twelve of his would-be rescuers.

It was the nation's deadliest coal mine accident in seventeen years.

The September 23 tragedy came less than two weeks after the terrorist attacks in New York City and at the Pentagon. At a memorial service for the dead miners, Elaine Chao, President Bush's secretary of labor, compared the miners' rescue efforts to those of the firefighters and police officers who died trying to save 9/11 victims.

"In the deepest darkness of these tragedies, we have also seen the best that America has to offer," she said, before making a promise to the miners' families. "Whether it be the terrorist attack on September 11 or the mine disaster that claimed thirteen lives this last weekend, we are determined to do everything we possibly can to keep it from ever happening again."

More than five years later, the Bush administration can claim that, indeed, no more terrorist attacks have occurred on American soil. But its record on mining safety is decidedly more troubling. As of mid-January of this year, 165 coal miners had been killed on the job since the Jim Walter disaster—some blown apart by gas explosions, others suffocated under cave-ins, still others crushed by runaway mining machines. Last year, forty-seven coal miners died on the job, the most in any full year since 1995, when forty-seven also were killed. A dozen perished last January at the Sago mine in north-central West Virginia. For two days Americans watched and waited for word of the miners' fate; they breathed a collective sigh of relief after hearing that all were alive, only to find out that the information was incorrect. Two more miners died two weeks later in a fire at the Aracoma mine in southern West Virginia. On May 20, an explosion in eastern Kentucky killed five more mine workers—making 2006 the first year since 1981 in which more than one accident killed at least five miners each.

While administration supporters can point to a steady drop in the number of coal mining deaths through 2005, when a record low of twenty-two occurred, those numbers don't tell the whole story. Fewer miners work today than a decade ago, and mine operators have shifted production to the largely mechanized and substantially safer strip-mining operations of Wyoming. Progress toward safer mines has lagged in places like West Virginia, where the death rate for miners has more than doubled since 1997 and increased by

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Ken Ward Jr., a reporter at the **Charleston** (W. Va.) **Gazette**, spent six months in 2006 studying coal mine safety as an Alicia Patterson Fellow.

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50 percent in the last five years.

Chao's promise to the families of Brookwood was not, as many probably assumed, a call for tighter rules and stricter enforcement. Instead, it was a signal for greater cooperation with mining companies. Under the Bush appointee Dave Lauriski, a former mining executive, the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) has stressed cooperating with mine operators over policing them. During his tenure, he filled the agency's top jobs with former industry colleagues, dropped more than a dozen safety proposals initiated during the Clinton administration, and cut almost 200 of the agency's 1,200 coal mine inspectors. Mine-safety experts have linked many of these actions to the causes of deadly mine accidents since 2001.

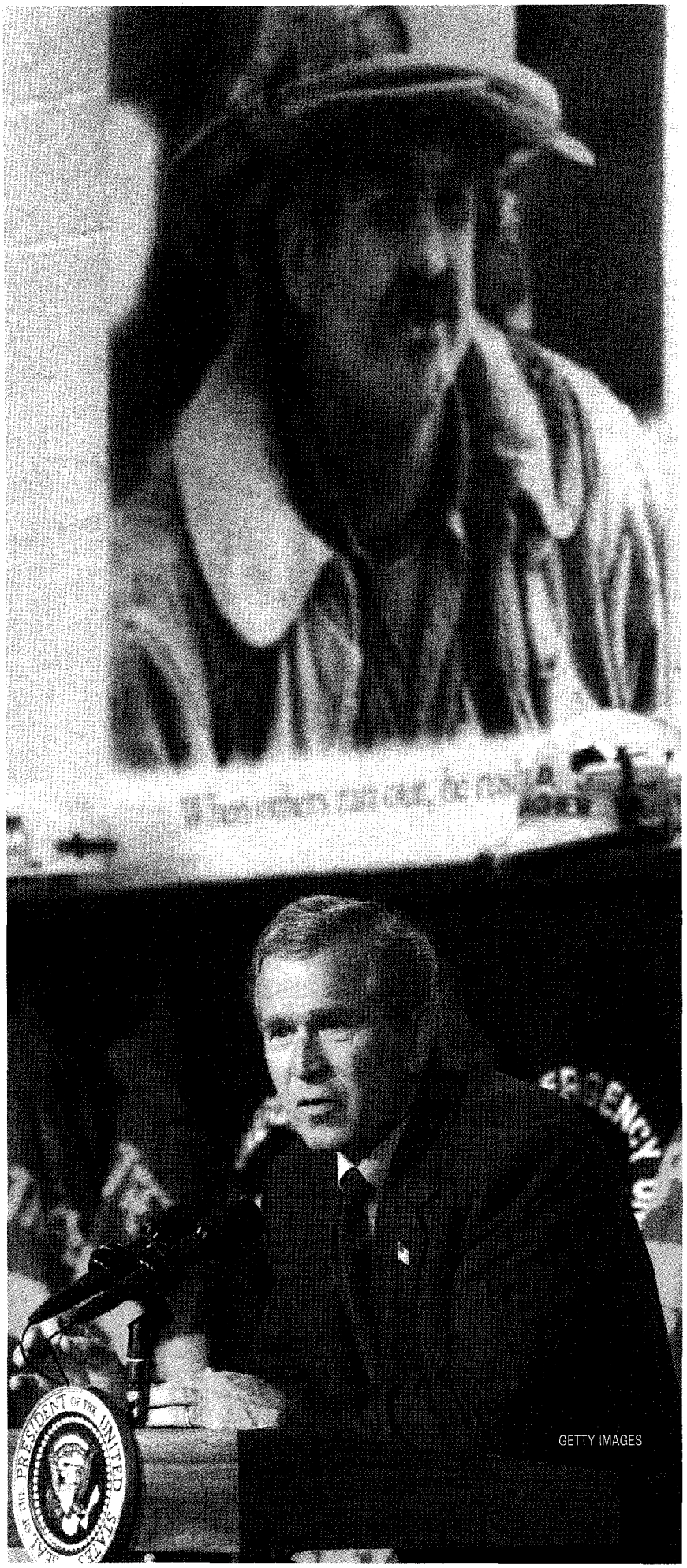
Under pressure from miners' widows and their allies in Congress, President Bush signed a mine-safety bill last June. It provides for better-trained rescue teams, more oxygen supplies underground, and stiffer fines for safety violations. But for an industry that has lost more than 104,000 workers to accidental death since 1900—and continues to lose scores more every year—it will surely not be enough.

Accidents happen

There are a couple of versions of an old coalfield maxim. One says that mine-safety laws are written in the blood of miners; the other that dead miners make the best lobbyists. Both are true.

On January 27, 1891, 109 miners died in an explosion at the Mammoth mine in Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania. At the time, it was one of the deadliest mining accidents in the nation's history. A little more than a month later, Congress passed what it called "An Act for the protection of the lives of miners in the territories," the first piece of federal legislation to address the dangers of mining. Though the law covered only mines in U.S. territories, it established minimum requirements for ventilating mines and prohibited operators from employing workers younger than twelve.

Over the next seventy-eight years, this pattern of disaster and legislative response gradually increased federal protections for miners, though the loss of life seemed disproportionate to the meager gains. In storied incidents like the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1947 explosion that killed 111 miners at the No. 5 mine in Centralia, Illinois, tens of thousands of miners died, but Congress reacted with little more than a new safety standard here, a nominal fine there. Then, on November 20, 1968, an explosion rocked the Consol No. 9 mine near Farmington, West Virginia. The blast was so powerful that it moved the chair on which a hotel clerk was sitting twelve miles away, in Fairmont. Seventy-eight coal miners died. Nineteen of their bodies were never recovered, entombed underground when the mine was sealed to suffocate raging fires.

The disaster prompted Congress to pass the Federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, and on December 30, 1969, President Nixon signed the bill. For the first time, Congress set strict standards for maintaining equipment and supplying fresh air to miners, required inspections of underground mines four times a year, and established mandatory fines for all violations. The landmark law did not stop deadly mining accidents—a year to the day after Nixon signed it, a coal mine explosion in Hyden, Kentucky, killed thirty-eight people—but its emphasis on enforcing safe practices led to steady improvement. The annual death toll dropped from 311 in 1968 to fewer than 100 in the early 1980s. By the early 1990s, when President Clinton took office, an average of only forty-five miners were dying on the job each year.

One step forward ...

In the Clinton administration, it became the job of J. Davitt McAteer, a native of Fairmont, to try to make coal mines even safer. McAteer was a first-year law student at West Virginia University when the Farmington mine blew up, and the disaster prompted him to organize a group of classmates to study coal mine safety in West Virginia. Their report helped persuade Congress to pass the 1969 Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, and was eventually published as a book, *Coal Mine Health and Safety: The Case of West Virginia*.

After graduation, McAteer worked with the consumer activist Ralph Nader on workplace-safety reforms and was running a small public-interest law firm, the Occupational Safety and Health Law Center, when Clinton selected him to head the Mine Safety and Health Administration. At his swearing-in ceremony in 1994, McAteer acknowledged the difficulty of keeping miners out of harm's way. "The closer we get [to that goal], the harder it is," he said. "But I think we can get closer."

At first, McAteer's optimism seemed justified. He ordered sweeping inspections that forced mine operators to repair faulty brakes on coal trucks, shore up the mine roofs, and address other widespread problems. He also pushed through a host of new health and safety rules, and organized training seminars for miners and operators.

But many of his efforts fell victim to opposition from various quarters. When he proposed national standards for training mine foremen and supervisors, industry executives and state regulators (who traditionally oversaw the licensing of foremen) shot them down. When he tried to impose new limits on coal dust in underground mines and take control of the industry-run dust-sampling program, the United Mine Workers—usually his ally—blocked the measures as inadequate.

It was the increasingly powerful Republican majority in Congress, though, that most often dashed his plans. For years, the mining industry had sought to reduce the quarterly inspections that the 1969 health and safety act required at all underground coal mines. Industry officials argued that only mines with poor safety records should be inspected. Rep. Cass Ballenger (R-N.C.)—a longtime ally of the industry—proposed not only to cut back the inspections, but to eliminate MSHA and fold its enforcement functions into the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, the Labor Department arm that polices most of the nation's workplaces.

In arguing that the agency was irrelevant, Ballenger described a mining quarry in his district that had operated for ten years without significant injury to its workers. "That is a phenomenal safety record," he said during a 1998 debate on his bill, "yet MSHA spends the same amount of time inspecting that quarry as it does any other surface mine in the country. To me that doesn't make much sense."

McAteer defended his agency by stressing how the unique dangers of mining required extraordinary vigilance. "Unlike most workplaces," he testified during a hearing on Ballenger's bill in 2000, "conditions in a coal mine can and do change daily, hourly, sometimes minute by minute. Miners must cope with massive machinery, confined spaces, explosives, potentially deadly gases, and quirks of geology that can be hard to predict at times."

McAteer's arguments led to the bill's defeat, but his vigorous defense also provoked Ballenger and Rep. Peter Hoekstra (R-Mich.) to accuse him of improper lobbying. The two congressmen asked the Government Accountability Office to investigate whether McAteer had illegally directed agency officials to urge coal mining executives to call their representatives and argue against the bill. The GAO cleared McAteer of any wrongdoing, but the congressmen had sent the message that more aggressive enforcement of mine-safety rules would face substantial opposition.

Still, when McAteer left office at the end of the Clinton administration, MSHA could claim some success

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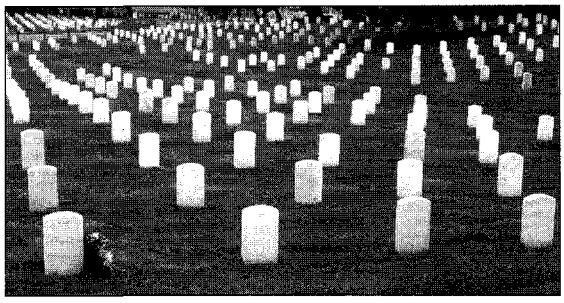
— The futility of war —

When men* engage in war, they endanger not only their own and others' lives, but also the well-being of the planet on which they depend for life itself. The Earth is plundered recklessly for the metals of all kinds used in the ordnance of death. No thought is given to the needs of future generations who also have the right to the planet's bounty. Countless millions of tons of twisted, rusting iron adorn the 'theatres of war' where men enact their deadly pageantry. Men cannot see, or even imagine, the devastation caused to their subtle bodies by endless hours of bombardment. The unprecedented levels of noise tear and shred these sensitive veils. The human frame is not constructed for such abuse. Thus do they do themselves irreparable harm. How long, therefore, will it take men to realize the futility of war? War solves no problem; it creates only chaos, and halts the progress of man.



"War solves no problem; it creates only chaos, and halts the progress of man."

Some, few, men, it must be said, relish the act of war. It is, for them, an act of valour, a test of their will and skill, but mainly, today, men are drawn into war for ideological reasons, for the cause. Hence it is the leaders of the nations who hold the reins of power, who legislate for war or peace. They must be carefully chosen to ensure a peaceful world.

Much thought must now be given to this problem. Recent events in the Middle East have shown how simple it is to transgress the rule of Law and let loose chaos; to rectify the transgression and bring resolution is quite another matter.

Maitreya watches these events with care. He calculates precisely the tensions and their relaxation as they occur and seeks always to establish equilibrium. In this respect, the energies of the Spirit of Peace or Equilibrium, focused through Maitreya, play a vital part. Potent and precise, they are turning the tide of hatred and warring instincts which so trouble the peoples of the nations.

The people themselves are beginning to play their part. Through ballot-box and demonstration they are making their voices heard, their demands for peace known. From this point there is no turning back. The people are sensing their power and are coming to understand that *they* must *make* the peace they all desire, and that only when justice reigns with freedom will blessed peace be assured.

This growing understanding will set the scene for Maitreya's early emergence.

This article, published in *Share International* magazine, was written by a Master of Wisdom. The Masters, headed by Maitreya, the World Teacher, are highly advanced teachers and advisors of humanity who are planning to work openly in the world very soon.

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*men is a general term meaning humankind

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The accident at the Sago mine might not have proved fatal had the Bush administration not stood in the way of a number of efforts to improve mine safety.

in having advanced mine safety. The number of coal mine deaths dropped from forty-seven in 1993 to an unprecedented low of twenty-nine in 1998, before increasing slightly in 1999 and 2000. More significant, there had been no mining disasters—defined as incidents involving at least five deaths—over the previous seven years. It was a record of protecting miners that would not last.

... Two steps back

Soon after President Bush took office, he appointed Dave Lauriski, a coal-industry veteran, as McAteer's replacement. In contrast to McAteer, Lauriski had made his name in Washington as a staunch defender of mining companies rather than miners, and particularly of his employer, Emery Mining Corp. in Utah.

On December 19, 1984, a fire broke out deep inside the company's Wilberg mine, near Orangeville, in the mining region south of Salt Lake City. At the time, the mine was trying to set a twenty-four-hour production record. Twenty-six men and one woman died. MSHA investigators blamed the fire on various safety violations. But Lauriski, a young mining engineer who was promoted to a top job for quickly getting the mine running after the accident, testified during a 1987 congressional hearing that "[i]mprovements in safety ... before the fire were impressive." He later left the company to run his own mine-consulting firm.

After the deadly explosions at the Jim Walter mine in September 2001, Lauriski echoed his boss, Labor Secretary Chao, in publicly assuring the dead miners' families that he would try "to prevent this type of accident from ever happening again." But soon afterward, he ordered work stopped on more than a dozen new mine-safety regulations proposed by the Clinton administration. Some of these would have improved ventilation in underground mines, others would have deepened investigations of mining accidents, and still others would have required inflammable conveyor belts and more extensive training for miners. The proposed regulations were dropped, MSHA said, because of "resource constraints, and changing safety and health regulatory priorities."

In speeches to mining-industry groups over the next few months, Lauriski further explained his thinking. He told the Georgia Mining Association that the agency had taken on too much under McAteer and needed to focus on just a few important items. He told the National Mining Association that MSHA would "collaborate more with stakeholders on regulatory initiatives" and become "less confrontational" with mine operators, in an effort to provide companies with better "compliance assistance." At a meeting with mine operators in Hindman, Kentucky, he boasted about his diminutive regulatory agenda. "If you've seen it," he said, "you noticed that it is quite a bit shorter than some past agendas. And if you haven't seen it, all I can say is, trust me, it's significantly shorter."

In interviews, Lauriski noted that coal mining deaths nationwide had decreased dramatically, from hundreds every year to fewer than fifty. Further progress would come not from more inspections and fines, he explained, but from helping mine operators accept more responsibility for worker training and from teaching them how safer mines could be more profitable than dangerous ones. Jack Gerard, then the president of the National Mining Association, called Lauriski's agenda "a bold and innovative approach to further advance miner safety and health." That view was soon put to the test.

In the first two months of 2002, fifteen miners of coal and other minerals died in workplace accidents, three times the usual number of deaths for any two-month period. On July 24, miners near Somerset, Pennsylvania, accidentally drilled into a flooded abandoned mine next to where they were working. Millions of gallons of water spilled through the hole, trapping nine of the miners for three days. As the nation watched on television, Lauriski helped direct a dramatic rescue of all nine miners—and became a national hero.

But his luck did not hold. In January 2003, three workers at a CONSOL Energy mine in northern West Virginia failed to check properly for methane before lighting a cutting torch. The ensuing explosion killed all three. Investigators later determined that MSHA inspectors should have instructed the workers on proper procedures but had not inspected the mine because, according to one agency official, staff cuts had left no inspectors available. Six months later, one miner was killed and

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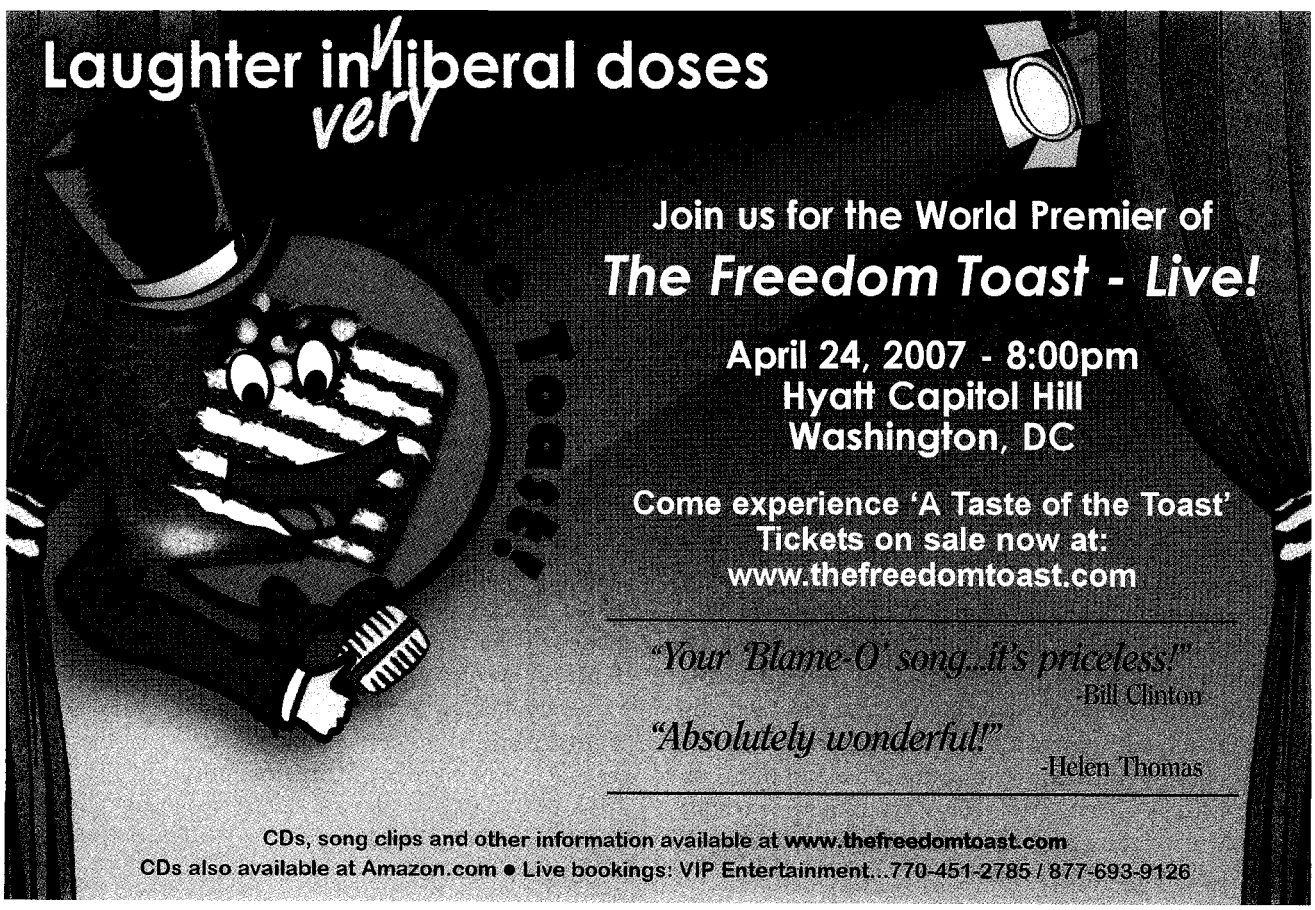
another seriously injured in an explosion at Cody Mining in Floyd County, Kentucky. Lauriski himself said that "unexcused deficiencies" by agency inspectors had played a role in the accident.

A week after the 2004 presidential election, Lauriski announced that he was leaving MSHA. He cited "personal circumstances" and said he was moving back west to "devote more time to my family." Over the next ten months, Bush left the agency in the hands of the acting head, David Dye, a former congressional staffer with no experience in the mine-safety field.

It's true that mining deaths—and the death rate per ton of coal mined—dropped during the Lauriski regime. But that's in large part because most coal is now produced through surface mining in the Powder River Basin of Wyoming. Surface mines are generally much safer than underground operations. In addition, thanks to the growing use of underground mining machines over the past decade, the number of miners working underground—where the great majority of fatal accidents occur—dropped from 57,000 in 1996 to 49,000 today.

A broader look at the evidence suggests that underground coal mining has become substantially more dangerous in recent years. Over the past decade, the death rate per 10,000 miners in West Virginia, where a high proportion of miners continue to work underground, actually increased, from about 1.2 in 1997 to 3 in 2004, according to the state Office of Miners' Health, Safety and Training. From 1999 to 2004, West Virginia and Kentucky—where, again, mining is done belowground—accounted for about a quarter of the nation's coal production but more than half of its mining deaths.

In addition, MSHA under Bush excludes certain types of deaths that previous administrations included. For example, MSHA did not count the death of an on-duty security guard who crashed his truck on a mining road owned by his employer. And many agency employees say current mine inspectors who also worked in the Clinton administration continue to enforce safety rules strictly, despite today's more lax standards. "Things do not change overnight," said Lee Ratliff, a recently retired MSHA district manager, "for the good or for the



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worse. But I think it will get worse."

Too little too late

In the early-morning hours of January 2, 2006, a severe thunderstorm sailed through Upshur County, West Virginia. Miner Terry Helms was "firebossing"—checking for safety problems—inside the Sago mine as other miners above him changed into their work clothes, checked their gear, and chatted.

At 6 a.m., two crews headed underground. About a half hour later, a section of the mine exploded. Helms died instantly. Twelve others were trapped. Before rescue workers reached them forty-one hours later, eleven had died, suffocated by carbon monoxide. Only Randal McCloy Jr. survived.

The Sago mine had been cited for 276 safety violations over the previous two years, but had paid only token fines—as little as $99 each for conditions that inspectors said were "significant and substantial" threats to the health and safety of miners. While investigators suspect that lightning triggered the explosion, questions remain about whether the mine's owner, International Coal Group (ICG), as well as government inspectors, failed to take steps that could have prevented the ensuing disaster.

The explosion occurred in an area where mining had stopped because of cave-ins. Following industry practice, the company had sealed off the area. But instead of building the seals with concrete blocks, ICG had used lightweight foam bricks because they were cheaper and easier to lift. The seals were not "explosion proof," as the law required them to be, and so they failed to contain the blast and shield the miners from danger. Inspectors had examined the seals and approved them.

Still, the accident might not have proved fatal had the Bush administration not stood in the way of a number of efforts to improve mine safety. First, according to McCloy, at least four of the twelve trapped miners did not have working self-contained self-rescuers (SCSRs)—personal oxygen tanks worn on miners' belts—to allow them to navigate the smoke-filled passages underground. One of the more than twelve mine-safety proposals that Lauriski blocked in December 2001 would have required mine operators to provide more and better SCSRs. Second, rescue operations at Sago were delayed because not enough rescue teams were available. Again, Lauriski had blocked a proposal requiring more teams to be on hand. Finally, the miners might have found their way out if their phone connection with rescuers had not been cut. But Lauriski's agency had refused to require a readily available text-messaging device that would have allowed the miners to maintain contact.

Soon after the disaster, the widows of Sago and Jim Walter miners joined in demanding that Congress improve mining safety. Legislation sponsored by West Virginia's congressional delegation was introduced in February but stalled until May 20, when five miners died in an accident at the Darby mine in Kentucky. On June 15, President Bush signed the Mine Improvement and New Emergency Response Act.

The law requires mine operators to supply miners with more oxygen underground and to create more and better-trained rescue teams, and it increases fines for certain safety violations. But these provisions are all versions of doing slightly more of the same—of "staying the course," to use a phrase favored by the administration. What was needed, according to mine-safety experts, were rules that would prevent accidents in the first place, not just help miners escape once fires or explosions occur. Rules like strict limits on coal dust, a highly combustible material that has caused numerous deadly accidents and given miners black lung; or a ban on putting flammable conveyor belts in tunnels used to supply fresh air underground, because the belts can easily catch fire and spread flames and toxic gases toward miners, as occurred at the Aracoma mine earlier this year; or minimum penalties of $10,000 for each safety violation, an amount that would make mining companies pay attention.

Further evidence that Bush never intended to shift course emerged in late October, when he used a recess appointment to put former coal-company manager Richard Stickler into the MSHA job that Lauriski had vacated nearly two years before. Twice the Senate had sent Stickler's nomination back to the White House, citing opposition by the United Mine Workers and a poor safety record at mining companies Stickler had run. Stickler has promised reforms, including tougher inspections and steeper fines. If he doesn't deliver, the new Democratic Congress may force his replacement when the recess appointment expires at the end of 2007.

On the anniversary of the Jim Walter disaster, several hundred miners and their families gathered outside a small white church in Brookwood, Alabama. The church—the last building remaining from the original company town—sits next to the coal mounds towering above the No. 5 mine. A stone monument lists the names of the thirteen miners who died five years ago. Thirteen evergreen trees grow behind it.

Darryl Dewberry, vice president of Alabama's United Mine Workers District 20, spoke to the crowd that day, evoking the horrible memories of September 23, 2001. His words are as appropriate today as they were then. "The legacy of Brookwood remains unfinished," he said. ♦

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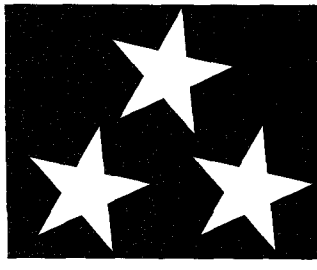

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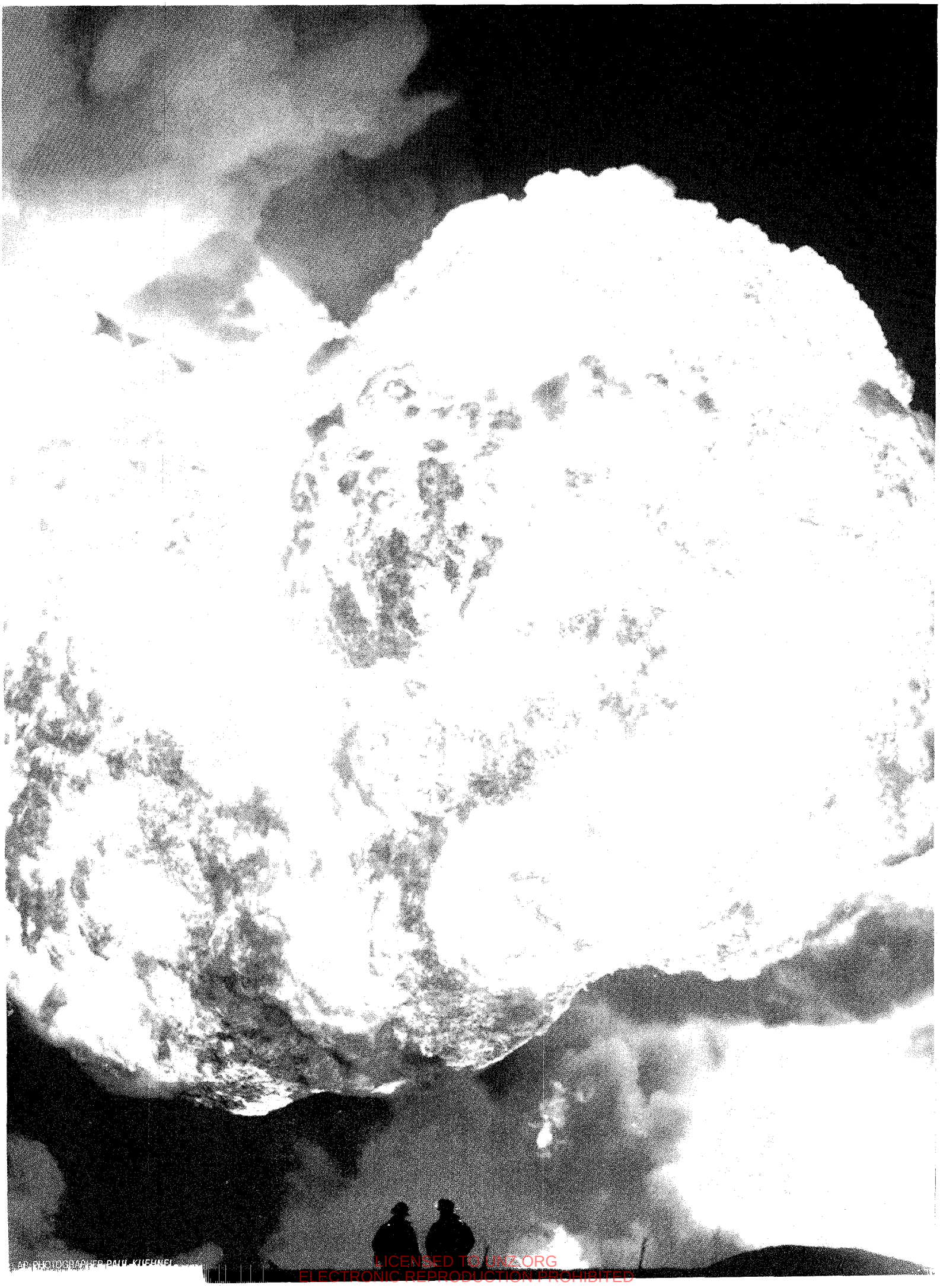

AP PHOTOGRAPHER PAUL KUEHNEL

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THE NEXT ATTACK

Terrorists in Iraq are becoming proficient at blowing up oil refineries. Similar plants in a handful of American cities represent our greatest vulnerability. We could easily be making them less dangerous. But we're not.

By Stephen Flynn

Consider this. It's a warm Friday evening in June, and 40,000 baseball fans are gathered at Philadelphia's Citizens Bank Park to watch the Phillies play the New York Mets. Most of the stadium's 21,000 parking spaces are filled. Just a few hundred yards away, Interstate 95 is crowded with weekend travelers. Two miles due west, workers on the night shift are starting to arrive at the thousand-acre Sunoco oil refinery on the banks of the Schuylkill River. A light breeze is blowing toward the east.

Across the Delaware River, three young men gather in a vacant lot. The leader of the group is a British national, a second-generation Pakistani from Liverpool who spent much of 2004 in Iraq. He has received training in bomb making from an Iranian tutor in southern Iraq and participated in attacks on Iraqi oil refineries. In the spring of 2005, a few months after returning from Iraq, the British-born jihadist traveled to the United States on a flight from London. Having never run afoul of the law in the United Kingdom, his name was not on the traveler watch list of the Transportation Security Administration (TSA). Further, as a British subject he was able to travel to New York without a visa.

With a letter of introduction from a radical British sheikh, the jihadist found his way to a Jersey City mosque. There, the local imam put him in contact with two Americans: a college student and his older cousin, both of whom had become adherents of the teachings of the radical Egyptian philosopher Sayyid Qutb. The three hatched a plan to use a commercial tanker truck to target the Sunoco refinery in southern Philadelphia.

Thousands of tanker trucks operate in the tristate area of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut. The older cousin holds a commercial driver's license and has been a truck driver for more than five years. In the summer of 2006, he provided biographical information and fingerprints to the TSA to get a hazardous materials

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Firefighters in protective gear tour a neighborhood in Romulus, Michigan, following an explosion at a nearby chemical plant.

endorsement added to his license. This allowed him to get a job driving for an independent gasoline distributor. The younger cousin obtained a job as an apprentice painter among the thousands of contractors who work on the Sunoco facility each day. His mission was to scout out the best target and the truck route to get to it.

In the late afternoon before the Phillies-Mets game, the older cousin drives his truck to the Valero Energy terminal and receives a full load of premium gasoline. Instead of making his first scheduled stop, he drives to a nearby rendezvous point to join up with his two co-conspirators. The younger cousin is driving a pickup truck armed with a small fertilizer bomb. The British jihadist opens his car trunk and carefully removes two suicide vests packed with explosives. On the evening before, the two cousins had dressed in white and recorded their martyrdom videos.

Shortly after 7 p.m., as the fans at the ballpark rise to sing the national anthem, the tanker truck and pickup approach the entrance to the Sunoco facility. Abruptly, the driver of the pickup accelerates into the guard shack, detonating the explosives. The explosion knocks out the roll-away gate, allowing the larger truck to drive in. Soon, the British jihadist locates his target, a large storage tank that is well marked with hazard placards. Crying "Allah is great!" he detonates his vest. The explosion sends up a ball of flame 200 feet high, immediately killing everyone within a hundred yards of the truck. The secondary explosions kill many more employees, crippling the refinery's ability to put its emergency response plan in place.

Two miles away, fans at Citizens Bank Park go quiet when the concussive force and noise of the explosion reach them. The umpire stops the game as security officials scramble to get more information. At the refinery, the secondary explosions have ruptured pipelines to several smaller pressurized tanks that contain thousands of gallons of anhydrous hydrogen fluoride. The warm evening and the heat of the raging fires nearby cause the hydrofluoric acid to evaporate and form a concentrated, colorless vapor, which, carried by the light westerly wind, moves slowly across the interstate and toward the blue-collar neighborhood north of Roosevelt Park.

An announcement comes over the stadium's loudspeaker, saying there has been an accident at a nearby refinery. The crowd is directed to evacuate calmly and drive north, toward the center of Philadelphia. As families scramble to get to their cars, a pungent odor reaches them, and they experience a burning sensation in their noses and mouths. Gridlock sets in almost immediately. Interstate 95 is already congested with weekend travelers, and Interstate 76 has been shut down as dozens of emergency vehicles head for the refinery.

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THE WHITE HOUSE STRATEGY FOR HOMELAND SECURITY HAS ENDED UP DELEGATING VIRTUALLY THE ENTIRE JOB OF PROTECTING THE MODERN FOUNDATIONS OF OUR LIVES TO THE COMPANIES THAT OWN AND OPERATE THEM.

Twenty thousand vehicles cannot leave the area at the same time. Thousands of people are trapped in their cars as the hydrofluoric cloud drifts over them, burning their eyes and eyelids. Soon, their lungs become inflamed and congested, depriving them of oxygen and leading to seizures. Most die within ten hours.

This is a fictional scenario, of course, but one that remains entirely plausible more than five years after the attacks of 9/11. Readers may be surprised to learn that an oil refinery can pose such a huge threat; terrorists, rest assured, are not. Al-Qaeda has been acquiring experience in these kinds of attacks in Iraq and Saudi Arabia and sharing the details of constructing improvised explosive devices in Internet chat rooms. All the information on the dangers of hydrofluoric acid and the vulnerability of the Sunoco facility can be found in publicly available reports that are accessible with the click of a mouse. And there are dozens of other similar plants near urban areas—from refineries to chemical factories to water-treatment facilities—where, to this day, in a worst-case scenario, hundreds of thousands of Americans could be killed or injured.

Much has been said about how Iraq is a training ground for terrorists, but it's rarely mentioned that the training is in precisely the sort of terrorism to which the United States is most vulnerable: attacks on our unsecured industrial facilities such as refineries and chemical plants. Between January 2004 and March 2006, insurgents carried out attacks on oil and gas pipelines that cost Iraq more than $16 billion in lost oil revenue. Successful attacks on the electrical grid have kept Iraq's average daily output at 5 to 10 percent below the prewar level, despite the $1.2 billion the United States has spent to improve the country's electrical production. Terrorists are cataloging and sharing their new skills online. And many foreign insurgents now return to their native lands with the experience of successfully targeting the kinds of complex systems that support economic and daily life within advanced societies.

Unfortunately, in the five years since 9/11, Washington has barely gone through the motions in its efforts to address the vulnerability of our chemical plants. While the Bush administration took us to war with the aim of protecting us from weapons of mass destruction produced abroad, it has shown little appetite for managing the risk of our most dangerous weapons of mass destruction at home. Over the last five years, bipartisan legislation designed to make chemical plants less appealing to terrorists has faced an uphill battle with the White House, which has resisted any legislative effort that imposes tougher security regulations on the industry. (See "Dick Cheney's Dangerous Son-in-Law," by Art Levine, p. 44.)

Democrats, having won majorities in the House and Senate, are trying to implement the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission. Unfortunately, because the commission's report says little about the issue of chemical security, this danger is still being neglected. This is both senseless and reckless. The problem of chemical security is too urgent to wait another year. It can be solved now, and it won't bankrupt the country to do it.

Not rocket science

To understand why meaningful chemical security legislation has languished for more than five years, it helps to sit in the Bush administration's seat in the immediate aftermath of 9/11. As members of the administration surveyed the United States, they saw a country that was impossibly vulnerable to attack by terrorists who had taken them by surprise. There were thousands of miles of unsecured borders and countless easy targets: stadiums, school buses, trains, tunnels, and

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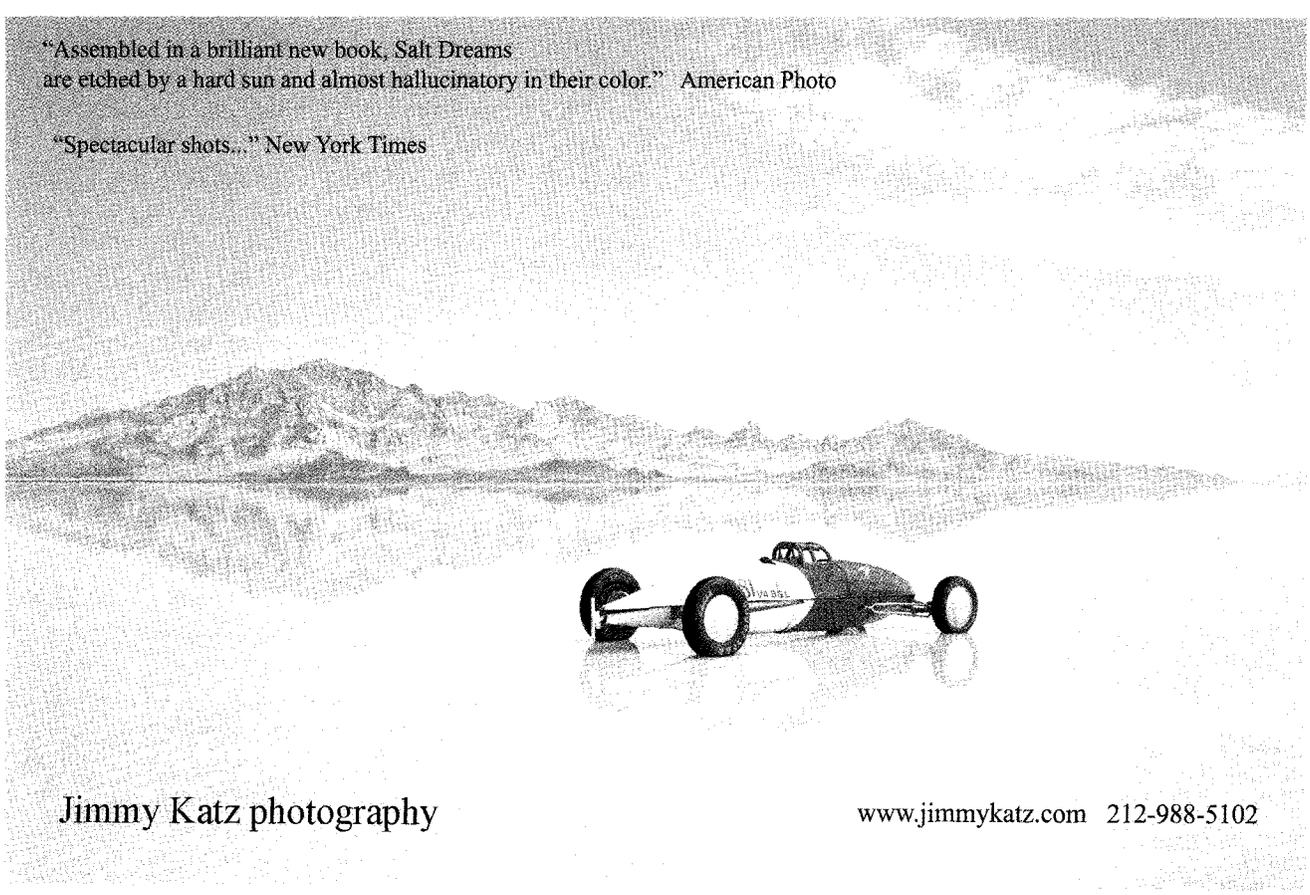
so forth. They concluded that it would be immensely expensive—and, ultimately, futile—to attempt to protect them all.

The administration decided that the only defense was a determined offense. This notion—that it was impossible to undertake effective actions at home that would insulate us from all forms of terrorism—also meant that the White House did not need to revisit its core political views. Because 85 percent of the critical infrastructure within the United States is privately owned, federal efforts to advance homeland security would have clashed with the conservative belief that Washington should avoid regulating industry. In July 2002, the White House made this thinking official doctrine when it quietly released *The National Strategy for Homeland Security*. The policy paper establishes that "the government should only address those activities that the market does not adequately provide—for example, national defense and border security." However, as a rule, the government found, "sufficient incentives exist in the private market to supply protection. In these cases we should rely on the private sector." The White House strategy ended up delegating virtually the entire job of protecting the modern foundations of our lives to the companies that own and operate them. Meanwhile, the administration resisted any efforts by Democrats and a few Republican allies to change this. Oklahoma Senator James Inhofe summed up the administration's thinking when he noted in 2003 that "[l]iberals wanted to use the tragedy of Sept. 11 as an excuse to regulate more."

The White House was incorrect on all counts, however. For one thing, taking the fight to the enemy has not, at least in the near term, reduced the threat of terrorism. In fact, the most recent National Intelligence Estimate states that the risk of terrorism against the United States, has, if anything, increased in the wake of the war in Iraq. But the administration was also wrong to conclude that there are an infinite number of targets. The number of targets that *matter* is quite manageable.

Terrorists hoping to hit the United States operate under a very significant constraint. It turns out to be very difficult to assemble a group of Islamic terrorists inside the country. If al-Qaeda has a pool of willing and suicidal recruits in the United States, it is, at best, tiny. In fact, the case of September 11 suggests that reliable



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jihadists cannot easily be recruited on U.S. soil, but must instead be imported. Even then, an operative must also be capable of working here without drawing undue attention to himself, which has become more difficult since 9/11.

Typically there must be a lengthy process of intense social conditioning to "radicalize" a recruit to the point where they will become willing to sacrifice their lives. Any suicide bombers a terrorist organization has in the United States are therefore tremendously valuable. They are unlikely to be squandered on lesser targets such as shopping centers, school yards, or sports events, which, if attacked, would certainly cause short-term fear but would have little lasting impact. Small-scale suicide bombings work well in countries like Israel or Iraq, where the pool of recruits is large. In the United States, however, a suicide-bombing campaign cannot be sustained, and therefore cannot be effective as a long-term strategy.

From al-Qaeda's perspective, then, not all targets are equal. Today's terrorist masterminds know that the main benefit of attacks is that they cause mass deaths and inflict large economic costs. The most attractive attack options are those that have the potential to do the most damage for the least money. As Osama bin Laden himself claimed in a videotape broadcast on Al Jazeera on November 1, 2004, "Al-Qaeda spent $500,000 on the event, while America, in the incident and its aftermath, lost—according to the lowest estimate—more than $500 billion. Meaning that every dollar of al-Qaeda defeated a million dollars by the permission of Allah, besides the loss of a huge number of jobs."

All of this translates into two core realities about the terrorism threat which have been largely overlooked since 9/11. First, radical Islamic jihadists are probably only interested in large attacks (the stated objective of al-Qaeda leaders is for the next attack on the United States to be bigger than 9/11), in which the ratio of death and economic damage to dollars spent on the attack is high. We are not, therefore, talking about an unbounded problem. There are a finite number of meaningful targets our enemies would find worth attacking. Second, adopting measures to protect those likely targets has value.

Unbelievably, it has taken five years for the federal government to compile a prioritized list of the most likely targets in the country. Congress demanded such a list when it passed the Department of Homeland Security Act of 2002, but the new department struggled to meet this mandate. This wasn't, however, rocket science. While attacks on the electric grid, oil and gas facilities, major ports, and the food-supply system have the potential to create the greatest cascading economic effects, it is chemical facilities near urban population centers that have the potential to inflict the greatest casualties. Placing them at the top of the list of priorities is obvious.

Playing defense

Once we identify the facilities we need to protect, the process of protecting the facilities that are the most critical and potentially lethal is not as arduous as it may first appear. We can avert the frightening scenario I laid out at the beginning of this article without placing all our faith in the fight overseas. Indeed, we must acknowledge that none of our current efforts abroad would help us foil, for example, an operation that involves a radicalized British national working with two U.S. citizens who are willing to sacrifice their lives to turn a domestic industrial facility into a weapon of mass destruction. Instead of just trying to eliminate the enemy, we must also focus more on defusing his targets.

Our national endgame should not be to just shield Americans and our critical infrastructure behind twenty-first-century versions of moats and castles. Fences and security guards will always have their limits. Over time, people become complacent and security becomes routine. Through surveillance and practice runs, a determined terrorist will find a way to penetrate physical security measures.

As a launching point, it is important to analyze why a terrorist would want to attack a particular facility. In the case of the Philadelphia refinery, the most destructive element of a terrorist attack involving explosives would not be the immediate loss of life and property inside the facility. The real danger would lie in the release of hydrofluoric acid into a densely populated area. This should lead to an obvious question: Can refineries near major urban areas use a less dangerous alternative to hydrofluoric acid so as to make them less attractive targets?

Yes, as it happens. In most cases, chemical plants that threaten nearby populations can switch to less dangerous substances. This practice is known as "inherently safer technology," or IST. For example, Lawrence Wein, a professor of management science at the Stanford Business School, has determined that for a conversion cost of $20 million to $30 million per refinery, sulfuric acid could replace hydrofluoric acid in the alkylation process used to manufacture high-octane gasoline. Certainly, sulfuric acid poses dangers as well, but unlike hydrogen fluoride it does not form a dense cloud when it is released. If Sunoco were using this alternative, it would have a nasty chemical spill on its hands if terror-

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ists attacked in the manner described above. Sunoco employees would still be killed. But the baseball game would go on without thousands of people in the stands inhaling lethal doses of a toxic gas. Today, ninety-eight refineries in the United States are already using sulfuric acid or another safer alternative (hydrofluoric acid modified with an agent that would cause most of the acid in a cloud to fall to the ground). But that still leaves fifty refineries that pose a great risk.

The price tag for making the conversion may sound steep. However, that amount represents what Americans have been spending every two to three hours on the war in Iraq, a war that has been costing U.S. taxpayers $250 million per day since the invasion in March 2003. The federal government could provide a tax break to Sunoco for investing in this change. Or Washington could be parsimonious and simply mandate the change without offering any compensation. Sunoco could still afford it. (Last year, for example, it reported profits of $974 million.) A major refinery produces about 1 billion gallons of gasoline a year. If the cost of the refinery conversion were amortized over three years, it would only raise the production cost by one cent a gallon. Even if oil companies decided to pass on the cost to drivers at the gas pump, consumers could handle this extra burden.

Terrorism aside, embracing a safer chemical has the added benefit of reducing the risk associated with ordinary industrial accidents. Nearly two decades ago, the citizens of Texas City had a narrow brush with a hydrofluoric acid disaster. On October 30, 1987, a crane at Marathon Oil's Texas City refinery dropped its load, severing two pipelines that led to the top of a storage tank of anhydrous hydrogen fluoride. The pressurized tank released more than six thousand gallons of its hazardous contents over a forty-four-hour period; the acid formed a vaporized cloud that prompted the evacuation of a fifty-block residential area adjacent to the plant. Trees were defoliated along the route the chemical traveled, and more than a thousand people ended up in hospitals for treatment of respiratory problems and skin rashes. That was merely the worst of many similar accidents. Between 1990 and 2005, the U.S. National Response Center's Emergency Response Notification System reported 400 incidents at refineries and other facilities involving hydrofluoric acid or hydrogen fluoride. Using safer chemicals would reduce any related casualties.

Similar solutions are available for a variety of industries that use chemicals. Take public water-filtration plants, which use large quantities of chlorine. Chlorine was one of the gases used as a weapon along the western front during World War I, and was lethal for anyone caught downwind. It is often transported under pressure in liquid form by tanker trucks, which must drive through city streets to reach the treatment facilities. Then it is stored in tanks adjacent to plants that may be close to residential neighborhoods, potentially placing tens of thousands of people at risk. This risk could be alleviated by replacing chlorine with sodium hypochlorite, the active ingredient in household bleach.

Or, stuff can be moved. Hydrogen fluoride released in an unpopulated desert area doesn't cause much harm, nor would a plant in such a location attract much terrorist attention. Danger comes from placing large quantities of hazardous chemicals in congested urban locations. For this reason, Houghton Chemical Corporation decided to move the contents of several large tanks that were next to a major hotel on Boston's Charles River. The tank farm stored highly flammable liquid vinyl acetate and was on a list of 121 U.S. chemical facilities that could potentially put more than a million people in jeopardy in the event of an accident, according to the Environmental Protection Agency. After 9/11, Houghton executives decided that the risk of a miles-long toxic cloud over the Boston skyline was not something they wanted to live with, so they quietly moved the vinyl acetate to another location.

Unfortunately, most companies have not followed Houghton's admirable lead. Without a strong mandate from the federal government, it's unrealistic to think they ever will. Yet voluntary compliance is the premise of the legislation Congress passed last fall; the new rules rest on the assumption that companies will now suddenly begin taking steps they have so far refused to contemplate.

Although much is unknown about the nature of the terrorist threat, some facts are indisputable. One is that the United States will be attacked again. Another is that the next attack will result in foreseeable consequences that will cause unnecessary loss of life and destruction of property. Finally, after the next attack, the legitimate outrage that Americans will feel when they discover how little was done to address our most serious domestic vulnerabilities will provoke seismic political fallout. In the end, national resilience must complement national security as the means to meet the hazards that the twenty-first century portends. As any good boxer knows, there is strength not only in being able to deliver a punch, but also in being able to take a punch. Indeed, in the face of the catastrophic terrorist threat, the best defense may just well be a good defense. ♦

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Dick Cheney's Dangerous Son-in-Law

Philip Perry and the politics of chemical security.

By Art Levine

In March 2003, when the world's attention was focused on U.S. soldiers heading to Baghdad, twelve senior officials in the Bush administration gathered around a long oak conference table in the Eisenhower Executive Office Building, part of the White House complex. They were meeting to put the final touches on a proposed legislative package that would address what was perhaps the most dangerous vulnerability the country faced after 9/11: unprotected chemical plants close to densely populated areas.

The package was the product of nearly a year's worth of work led by Tom Ridge, head of the Department of Homeland Security (previously head of the White House Office of Homeland Security), and Christine Todd Whitman, administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency. Both had been governors of northeastern states (Ridge of Pennsylvania and Whitman of New Jersey) with a large number of chemical plants, and this only increased their concern about leaving such facilities unprotected. EPA staff felt such fears even more acutely: agency data showed that at least 700 sites across the country could potentially kill or injure 100,000 or more people if attacked.

The basic elements of the legislation were simple: the EPA would get authority to regulate the security of chemical sites, and, as a first step, plants would submit plans for lowering their risks. One man present at the meeting, Bob Bostock, who was homeland security adviser to the Environmental Protection Agency, was relieved to see that something was finally being done. "We knew that these facilities had large enough quantities of dangerous chemicals to do significant harm to populations in these areas," he says.

No one present was prepared for what came next: the late arrival of an unexpected visitor, Philip Perry, general counsel of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). Perry, a tall, balding man who bears a slight resemblance to Ari Fleischer without the glasses, was brusque and to the point. The Bush administration

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was not going to support granting regulatory authority over chemical security to the EPA. "If you send up this legislation," he told the gathering, "it will be dead on arrival on the Hill."

No one doubted the finality of Perry's message. The OMB, which sets the course for nearly every proposal coming out of the White House, is a much-feared department that raises or lowers its thumb on policy priorities, a sort of mini-Caesar at the interagency coliseum. But Philip Perry could boast one more source of authority: he was, and is, the husband of Elizabeth Cheney, and son-in-law of Vice President Dick Cheney. After Perry spoke, only Bostock dared to protest, though to little effect. "He was obnoxious," Bostock recalls.

For the chemical industry, which has always had a chilly relationship with the EPA, Perry has been a consistent, quiet friend. "Phil Perry was never the EPA's biggest fan," says Whitman, recounting the relationship. "I think there was a predisposition on his part that we were trying to overreach." Indeed, like many Republican hardliners, for whom the EPA represents all that is wrong with government regulation, Perry has sought to limit the role of the EPA, not expand it. He's been successful.

To understand the workings of Philip Perry is to get a sense of the true lines of power in the executive branch. "Perry is an *éminence grise*," says one congressional staffer. "He's been pretty good at getting his fingerprints off of anything, but everyone in this field knows he's the one directing it. He is very good at the stealth move." And, as it turns out, Perry's stealth moves have often benefited opponents of chemical regulation. One of his final pieces of handiwork included coming up with what critics have called an "industry wish list" on chemical security that ultimately became law last fall. "Every time the industry has gotten in trouble," says the staffer, "they've gone running to Phil Perry."

The result has been that our chemical sites remain, even five years after 9/11, stubbornly vulnerable to attack. Philip Perry has hardly been alone in tolerating this. Others in the White House and Congress have been equally solicitous toward the chemical industry. But as part of a network of Cheney loyalists in the executive branch, Perry has been a key player in the struggle to prevent the federal government from assuming any serious regulatory role in business, no matter what the cost. And a successful attack on a chemical facility could make such a cost high indeed. A flippant critic might say the father-in-law has been prosecuting a war that creates more terrorists abroad, while the son-in-law has been working to ensure they'll have easy targets at home. But it's more precise to say that White House officials really, really don't want to alienate the chemical industry, and Perry has been really, really willing to help them not do it.

Safe as milk plants

After 9/11, counterterrorism experts disagreed on many issues, but on one point they were united: industrial sites with high concentrations of chemicals presented a unique combination of lethality and vulnerability (see "The Next Attack," page 30). Some companies immediately took steps on their own to reduce the risk of attack, by replacing dangerous chemicals used in processes with safer ones, or maintaining smaller stockpiles.

Such conversions involve a shift to what are known as "inherently safer technologies," or IST. Environmental groups have for years been advocating the use of IST in the interests of reducing pollution and preventing fatalities resulting from accidents. After 9/11, they would gain an even stronger selling point: IST could also help protect against terrorism by making chemical plants in populated areas safer, hence less attractive as targets. Rick Hind of Greenpeace argues, with a rhetorical flourish, "These facilities can be made as safe as milk plants." Not surprisingly, IST gained new supporters after 9/11, and some in Congress moved to incorporate it into security legislation. Already by October 31, 2001, Sen. Jon Corzine (D-N.J.) had introduced legislation requiring high-risk companies to use available IST.

If environmentalists love IST regulations, however, industry executives hate them. The chemical industry is one of high costs and fairly low profit margins; from its perspective, stringent IST requirements throw off what is already a delicate cost-profit balance. Also, years of unhappy experiences with Washington have convinced many industry executives that regulations will be clumsily introduced. Worst of all, they feel, IST could give environmentalists and their allies in the EPA another pretext to expand their regulatory reach. Corzine's bill quickly encountered industry opposition and stalled in the Senate.

Then as now, certain industry-affiliated experts questioned how necessary IST would be in reducing vulnerability to terrorism. Some suggested other means, such as heightened security measures (even though the security measures that industry has put in place and touts as effective are often comically easy to breach [see "You Too Can Break Into a Chemical Plant," p. 44]). What everyone had to admit was that chemical storage tanks and rail cars remained dangerously easy to strike. Something had to be done. In July 2002, the Senate

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Environment and Public Works Committee unanimously adopted a compromise version of Corzine's bill. To the chagrin of those who lobbied against it, the compromise still included a requirement that some plants consider using IST. "Industry freaked out," recalls one Democratic staffer.

It needn't have. Industry allies such as Sen. James Inhofe (R-Okla.) provided enough resistance to keep the bill from moving to the floor. Any further progress would have required a push from the White House, which declined to provide it. According to Frank Cilluffo, a former special assistant to President Bush for homeland security, the White House felt that the private sector understood the dangers best and was therefore "in a better position to implement solutions." (Cilluffo no longer shares that view.)

As long as chemical-security bills kept expiring in the face of industry opposition on Capitol Hill, the White House had little cause to weigh in. Indeed, some observers say it was so worried about IST, it was happy to see legislation derailed. IST was "the one thing that the administration simply would not accept," says Jim Carafano, a senior fellow at the Heritage Foundation who followed the legislative process. "They wouldn't push a bill because they were afraid it would get hijacked" by supporters of IST. For months after 9/11, no progress was made on the Hill.

Al-Qaeda doesn't file lawsuits

Philip Perry, who was born in 1964 in San Diego, first met Elizabeth Cheney at a Washington, D.C., alumni mixer for graduates of Colorado College. They hit it off. In 1993, they married, and Perry took a job at the law firm of Latham & Watkins. Perry's first job in government began in 1997 and had a decidedly partisan flavor: it was as counsel to the U.S. Senate investigation of alleged campaign finance abuses by Clinton and Gore in their 1996 campaign. The investigations failed to produce sensational results, but Perry did at least learn about the ways of the Senate and form friendships that would be useful later. As Sen. John Warner (R-Va.) would say of Perry at a confirmation hearing years later, "He is a member of the Senate family, and that is very important."

After his stint in the Senate, Perry returned to Latham, where he formed other helpful connections. (A colleague, Michael Chertoff, would later head the Department of Homeland Security.) In 2000, when Cheney became George W. Bush's running mate, Perry found himself in the inner circle of advisers surrounding his father-in-law. Friends describe him as intellectually brilliant and extremely discreet. Fittingly, in the vice president's debate-prep sessions, Perry played the role of moderator. The Republican political consultant Mary Matalin, who worked with him in the mock debates, described Perry to *Legal Times* as "very, very, very strategic."

When the election of 2000 was resolved, Perry took on the title of "policy coordinator" for the Bush-Cheney presidential transition. By early 2001, he had been appointed as the acting associate attorney general at the Department of Justice, the department's third-ranking official. It was a dramatic promotion.

While Perry mostly stayed out of the news, the summer brought some unwelcome attention. The Department of Justice, it was reported, would stop pursuing a breakup of Microsoft. Since Perry oversaw the antitrust division, and Cheney had previously met with Microsoft's CEO, some critics smelled a fix. "I am concerned," said Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.), "that there may have been unneeded or inappropriate contact ... between the White House, ... and decision makers at the department." In November 2001, the government offered Microsoft generous terms in a settlement deal that even many Republicans denounced.

Having proved his ability to get the federal government off the back of big industry, Perry received another promotion, moving over to the Office of Management and Budget in 2002 to serve as general counsel under then OMB Director Mitch Daniels, also a Cheney loyalist. At the time, the most critical issue facing the chemical industry was that of implementing post-9/11 security measures. In late 2001 and in 2002, Whitman and Ridge worked to come up with a plan to put some preliminary regulations in place. Using a clause in the Clean Air Act, the EPA would claim authority to oversee security measures for the chemical industry. "We were looking for facilities to do a vulnerability study," says Whitman, "to try to take that first step." However, as they prepared to announce their plans in the summer of 2002, the White House changed its mind.

The problem, according to Richard Falkenrath, who at the time was a special assistant to the president and policy director of the Office of Homeland Security, was a legal one. Administration lawyers—primarily Perry at the OMB—were arguing that granting regulatory authority to the EPA based on a clause in the Clean Air Act would be overreach. "The thinking was that if you're going to do something this big, you need to have Congress specifically authorize it, not argue that this huge regulatory action was justified by a single clause in an old law," says Falkenrath. "There was an absolute unanimity around the table that we'd be sued and that

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we'd lose those suits." If this seems like an implausible argument in an administration that has expanded executive authority on far flimsier grounds, Falkenrath notes a distinction. "Al-Qaeda doesn't file suit in court to block federal regulatory action," he explains. "There's a difference between intercepting phone calls and regulating an enormous industry." The plan to claim regulatory authority for the EPA was retired.

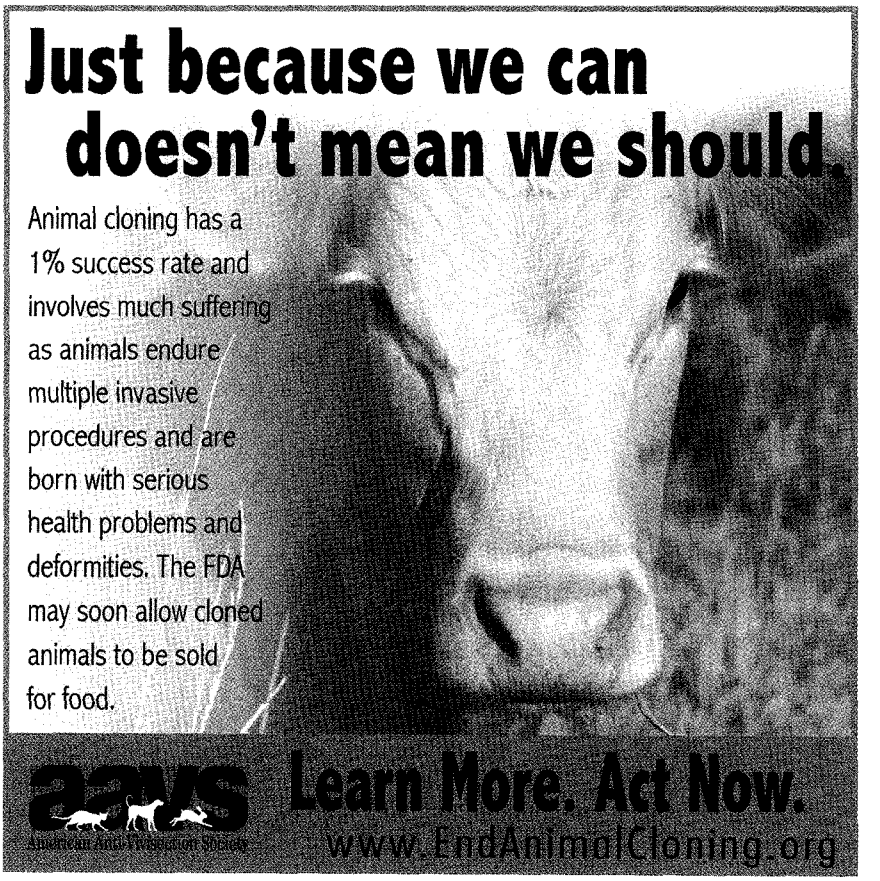
For Whitman and Ridge, the obvious solution seemed to be to ask Congress for the authority necessary to enact the plan already envisioned. After all, official White House strategy papers called for placing the EPA in the lead role for overseeing the chemical sector. In the months that followed, Bostock at the EPA and officials from the DHS and the White House worked to craft a package to submit to Congress. By the time it was almost complete, however, Perry again came forward to shut down the plan, in the March 2003 meeting. Perhaps the White House had experienced a change of heart. More likely, its most influential players, such as Dick Cheney, had never supported the bill to begin with and hadn't been paying much attention. "They woke up and heard from industry: 'Watch out, the EPA's coming,'" Whitman recalls. And the invasion of Iraq, which was dominating the news, allowed them to pull the plug on the effort.

Whitman eventually became frustrated enough to request formally that the EPA's purported lead role on chemical security be ceded to the DHS. "I did not believe the agency should be asked to assume responsibility for performing this important mission if it would not also be given even the basic authority it needed to meet it," she later wrote in her book, *It's My Party Too*. Meanwhile, the new Department of Homeland Security struggled to find a role for itself. The DHS had not been granted authority to regulate chemical security, nor would the White House allow Ridge to delegate work to the EPA. "Even though we made clear that the EPA would only have a specific role," Whitman says, "it was viewed as the camel's nose under the tent." That June, Whitman resigned her post.

While Ridge stayed on at the DHS, Washington mostly turned its attention away from chemical security during the next few years. Perry, for his part, returned to Latham & Watkins in September 2003. Over the next year and a half, he lobbied the DHS for liability protections for clients such as Lockheed Martin and General Electric, and his earnings exceeded $700,000. For Latham, which represented clients like the American Chemistry Council, the chemical industry's trade group, Perry was a valuable addition.

Characteristic stealth

In January 2007, Perry spoke to a group of lawyers at an American Bar Association security seminar at the L'Enfant Plaza Hotel in Washington, D.C. Dressed in a dark suit, Perry stood before the crowd of 200 or so in attendance and swiftly ran through efforts backed by the DHS. Of particular pride was a new package of chemical-security regulations released by the DHS only weeks earlier. "For a few years now, the [Bush] administration has supported chemical-security legislation," Perry told the gathering, "but Congress has deadlocked." Those who'd been watching a bit more closely might have been surprised by such a description of events. After all,



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only with deadlock on the Hill could Perry have crafted the legislation of a chemical-industry lobbyist's dreams.

During the years in which Washington had been neglecting chemical security, numerous actors had become increasingly uneasy about the problem. In January 2005, Sen. Susan Collins (R-Maine) began a series of hearings looking at the subject before the Senate Homeland Security Committee, during which one grim highlight had been the testimony of Falkenrath, the former homeland security adviser, who called chemical security the nation's top domestic vulnerability and admitted that since 9/11, "we have essentially done nothing." By June 2005, even the DHS's public spokesperson on the issue, Bob Stephan, was conceding that voluntary efforts were proving insufficient.

In November 2005, acting New Jersey Governor Richard Codey got tired of waiting and issued an executive order mandating that the forty-three riskiest chemical plants in his state come up with chemical-security plans and conduct a review of potential IST measures. This was unwelcome news to the chemical industry, which rallied to seek Washington's help in shutting down New Jersey's efforts. If the federal government would play the card of "preemption," by which less-stringent federal laws would supersede more-stringent state laws, the threat of New Jersey's regulations could be combated. In other words, while arguing that it just wanted to oppose a burdensome "patchwork" of state laws, the chemical industry hoped that Washington would forbid states from setting tougher standards.

Before that could happen, however, Washington needed to produce chemical legislation of any sort. This, of course, had been a problem for four years already. Bills had come and gone, most left to languish in various back alleys of the House and Senate. One of the few with any hope of advancing was a joint middle-of-the-road effort by Collins and Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.). To the relief of the chemical lobby, the bill contained no IST provisions (Lieberman had unsuccessfully attempted to add them). On the downside for industry, though, it also failed to grant preemption powers to the federal government.

This was workable. In an effort to defang Collins-Lieberman, the chemical lobby attempted, via Senate allies, to add some amendments. Among these were a ban on any consideration of amendments mandating IST and, more importantly, a reassertion of preemption over state law. Even in a Republican-controlled Senate, however, this effort failed. The chemical lobby, disappointed, started to work to undermine the bill. Having seen how easily chemical-security legislation could stall, it wasn't willing to settle. One congressional staffer puts it bluntly: "Industry got greedy."

It didn't hurt that the DHS was in its corner. In February 2006, when the Government Accountability Office called on the DHS to at least study IST, DHS officials rejected the proposal. In March 2006, when DHS Secretary Michael Chertoff reluctantly accepted the notion that the DHS should regulate the chemical sector, he also denounced IST as an "interference with business" and warned that allowing states to pass tougher laws would expose businesses to "ruinous liability."

Still, in June 2006, despite the efforts of industry lobbyists, Collins-Lieberman was unanimously voted out of the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. That left it up to Senator Inhofe, who was chairman of the Environment and Public Works Committee, to put a hold on the bill, complaining that it could open the door to an IST mandate. Inhofe might have relented had the White House requested it, but the White House had little affection for Collins-Lieberman. So it stayed silent.

By stopping Collins-Lieberman, the chemical lobby had gotten, in the short term, what it wanted. But it had also gotten itself in a bind: if any regular bill were to pass, industry could face new regulations it didn't want. But if nothing were to pass, there would be no way to shut down the regulatory efforts of states like New Jersey. The only acceptable outcome, then, would be for Washington to pass legislation giving the industry exactly what it wanted: a fig leaf of regulations to satisfy public opinion and a hidden gun that would take aim at New Jersey's tough new regulations.

Enter Philip Perry. When Michael Chertoff was nominated to head the DHS in 2005, he had asked Perry to join him as the department's general counsel. The two were not only colleagues at Latham & Watkins but also members of the conservative Federalist Society, and they were of like minds in their general distrust of government regulation of business. By the summer of 2006, as various bills competed for attention, Perry's services were in great demand. "Industry went back to the well," says one DHS official.

Perry came through in a characteristically concealed manner. When it became clear that Collins-Lieberman was going nowhere, Perry went searching for a new vehicle to get more industry-friendly results. He would find it in a DHS appropriations bill in the Senate, to which had been attached an obscure amend-

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Asian Americans Need Fair Immigration Reform!

Did you know that

- 1.5 million of the 12 million [illegible] United States are from Asian [illegible] means [illegible] Asians living in the United States [illegible] immi[illegible]

- Thousands of U.S. cit[illegible] and legal immi[illegible] wait years, sometimes even decad[illegible] with t[illegible] they are from certain Asian countries? [illegible] petitioning for an adult son or daughter fr[illegible] Philippines, [illegible] approximately 16 years before [illegible] join the [illegible] in the U.S.

Comprehensive immigration reform is [illegible] as a [illegible] issue. Asian Americans, too, are suffering heavily [illegible] broken immigration system. We all need comprehensive immi[illegible] work together. Please contact your members of Co[illegible] to support fair and humane immigration reform for a[illegible]

ASIAN AMERICAN JUSTICE CENTER

Also, please visit www.advancingequality.org to learn [illegible] the Asian American Justice Center and our efforts in immig[illegible] rights and other issues that affect the Asian American [illegible] Together we can make a difference.

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ment giving the DHS short-term regulatory authority over chemical security. Perry reworked the language and helped to get it added to the spending bill in a conference committee. Under the new amendment, the DHS would have nominal authority to regulate the chemical industry but also have its hands tied where required. For example, the DHS would be barred from requiring any specific security measures, and citizens would be prohibited from suing to enforce the law. Best of all for industry, while the bill didn't mention giving the DHS preemption authority, it didn't bar it, either, leaving a modicum of wiggle room on the subject. In other words, if Perry was sufficiently brazen, he could claim for the DHS the power to nullify the chemical regulations in New Jersey.

He was sufficiently brazen. When the DHS finally unveiled its proposed regulations in late December of last year, Hill staffers noticed that the department had effectively granted itself the power to set aside state laws, even though the new federal law didn't expressly grant such authority. Lawmakers on both sides of the aisle were livid. "In order to please their cronies in the chemical industry, the Bush administration is willing to put the health and safety of millions of people at risk," said Sen. Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.). Senator Collins, for her part, released a statement accusing the DHS of attempting to create regulatory powers "out of whole cloth." It was indeed curious that Perry, who had been so cautious about allowing the EPA to claim regulatory authority in the Clean Air Act, should now be so bold in interpreting the language in an appropriations rider. Or perhaps it wasn't so curious at all.

In January 2007, Perry announced his intention to step down as general counsel of the Department of Homeland Security and was rumored to be returning to Latham & Watkins. Elizabeth Cheney, Perry's wife, had given birth to the couple's fifth child in July 2006, and Chertoff spoke of fully supporting Perry's "decision to put his family first." But there were other reasons for Philip Perry to leave government, too. After all, he'd done what he came to do. ♦

You Too Can Break Into a Chemical Plant

Lax security at our nation's chemical plants may endanger the millions of Americans unlucky enough to live near them, but it's been a boon for investigative journalism. It's become practically commonplace for intrepid reporters to demonstrate the ease with which one can penetrate a dangerous facility. But after journalists like Carl Prine of the *Pittsburgh Tribune-Review* started visiting plants in 2002, leaving his business card on storage tanks and bringing along *60 Minutes* camera crews, I wondered: Could I *still* mosey onto a plant's property and get close to chemicals that could kill thousands of people?

To find out, I enlisted the help of James Bryant, a tall, courtly, retired chemical engineer and executive who has become an industry critic in Delaware, home of DuPont. When Bryant was an executive for Standard Chlorine in the mid-1990s, he helped write the predecessor to the American Chemistry Council's Responsible Care code, a self-policing program hailed as a national model by Department of Homeland Security officials and industry representatives. Marty Durbin, the ACC's amiable chief lobbyist, told me, "The real-world impact is that our employees and the communities we reside in are much more secure and safer." Bryant is less effusive. "It's not worth a damn, because there's no follow-up," he says in his relaxed southern drawl.

Bryant takes me to DuPont's Edge Moor plant, around the southern section of the Delaware River, near Wilmington. It's an overcast October day, a few weeks after the passage of an industry-backed regulatory bill. Fittingly, we're driving a black Mercedes SUV like the ones in Hollywood action thrillers that come packed with black-masked terrorists. As a member of ACC, DuPont is presumably compliant with the self-assessment requirements of Responsible Care. In an e-mail, DuPont assured me that the company "has a 200-year heritage of safety as a core value." I plan to test this claim with the eyes of a jihadist who's willing to blow up chemical facilities with a rocket-propelled grenade—an RPG—or a bomb. Admittedly, I'd make an imperfect Islamic extremist. Not

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A NO TRESSPASSING sign does little to deter would-be terrorists.

only am I a Jewish guy who doesn't expect to have my way with seventy-two virgins in Paradise, I also have a back problem that would probably prevent me from lifting heavy weaponry. Still, I'm curious to see how easy it would be for fanatics in better shape to blow up toxic chemicals.

We arrive outside Edge Moor's mesh fence. In 2005, Edge Moor reported to the Environmental Protection Agency the worst-case outcome of a terrorist attack on its aging facility; it estimated that more than 150,000 people who live and work within fourteen miles of the plant could be at risk of being injured or killed. The fence is interrupted only occasionally by a bolt lock at side entrances; long stretches are unburdened by a single security camera. Intermittently, we glimpse a NO TRESSPASSING sign, usually beyond the view of the guards at the main entrances. "Nobody's watching," Bryant says in a jaded tone. I photograph rail cars, towers, and storage tanks, feeling bolder as I realize no one is going to stop us.

We park across the street from what appear to be eight chlorine tank cars near two storage tanks the size of grain elevators. There's a large gap in the fence where railroad tracks exit the plant, but I'm wary of walking through it—I'm pretty sure the *Washington Monthly*'s expense budget doesn't cover bail and a lawyer. So I go back to the car, looking forlornly at the rail cars beckoning me with the promise of journalistic glory. As we pull away, I think about Carl Prine and Steve Kroft and all the others who've gone before me, exposing the chemical terror next door.

"Screw it," I tell Bryant. "I'm going in." I skulk across the street and, my heart pounding, dart inside the fence. I'm a few dozen yards from several vehicles that could be filled with enough chlorine to each kill 100,000 people in thirty minutes. The only barrier between me and the chance to unleash possible toxic catastrophe is a striped pole bearing a sign that reads MEN AT WORK. Unlike Carl Prine, though, I don't have the guts to leave my card on the tanks, or perch atop some of them waving, as he did in his January series, "Terror on the Tracks."

Instead, I just take a few more photographs and return to the SUV. "I scared myself," I tell Bryant. "It's an old plant, and they don't like to change things much," he replies nonchalantly.

As we drive back, Bryant points out another DuPont site with chemical production or storage units on land jutting out into the river directly below the Delaware Bridge. "You can fire anywhere you want," he observes. Fortunately, I hadn't thought to bring along an RPG, but I fear there's little to stop others who might be making just such deadly plans. —*Art Levine*

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Let's Do Lunch

Twenty-one new power players you wish you'd been nicer to.

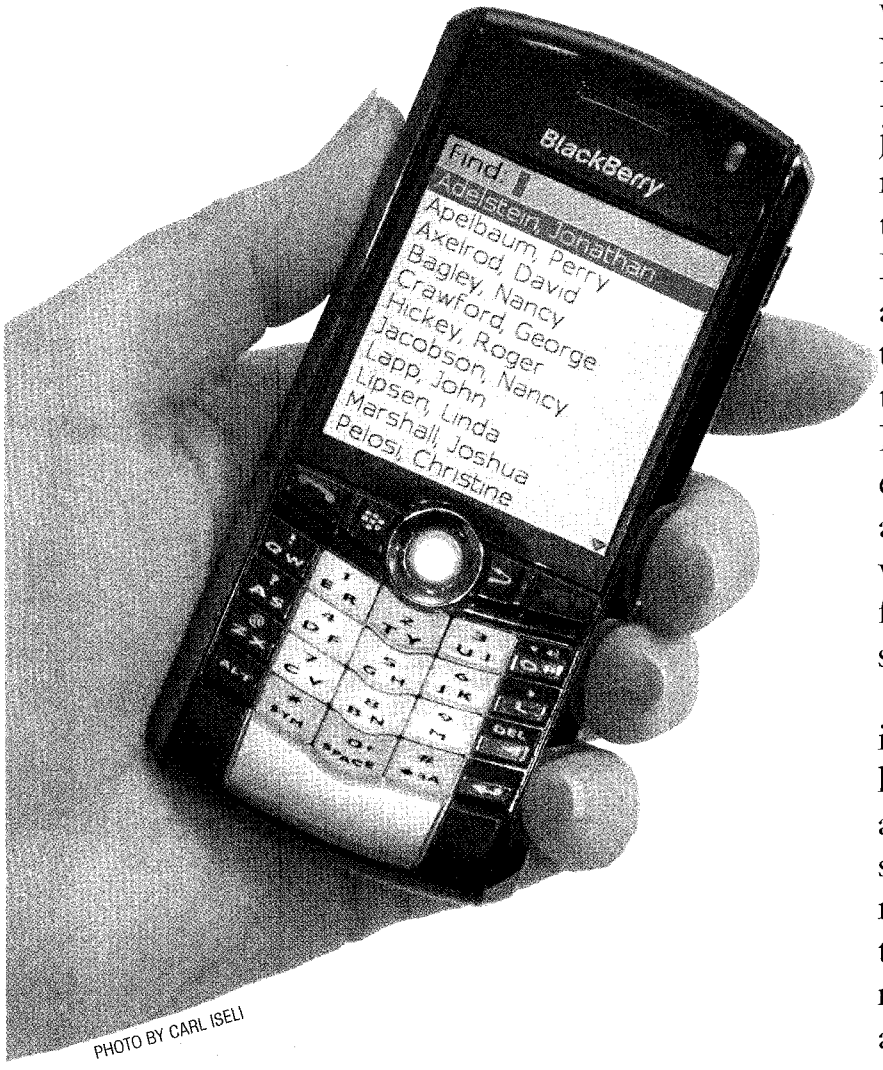

PHOTO BY CARL ISELI

Photography by Eve Qureini

Last November's Democratic victory catapulted party leaders like Nancy Pelosi, Harry Reid, and Rahm Emanuel into prominence. But it's not just those with a capital *D* after their names whose fortunes are on the rise these days. The changeover on Capitol Hill has reordered virtually every aspect of Washington's political culture. In so doing, it has strengthened the hands of a slew of unelected Democratic power players—Hill staffers, lobbyists, political consultants, activists, fund-raisers, even socialites—whose sway is often all the greater for being wielded largely behind the scenes.

Of course, almost every Democrat in town is feeling pretty good about himself lately, and coming up with a comprehensive list of those who've seen their power enhanced in the new Washington would keep us here through 2008. But some of the capital's new influence brokers haven't received a level of attention commensurate with their clout. As we gear up for the major political battles of the next two years—from Iraq to congressional oversight to the presidential race—here are a few of this city's under-covered inside players who'll now be getting their calls returned more quickly than ever.

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By Zachary Roth and Rebecca Sinderbrand

THE RESISTANCE
Jonathan Adelstein and Michael Copps
FCC commissioners

The Democratic takeover of Congress won't change the composition of the executive-branch commissions that write and enforce key regulations, and that remain largely majority Republican. But that doesn't mean the shift on Capitol Hill won't dramatically affect those commissions' balances of power.

Perhaps the best example is the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which is gearing up to address a host of thorny issues, from media consolidation to net neutrality. The FCC's two Democratic commissioners, Jonathan Adelstein and Michael Copps, will still be going up against three Republicans, including Chairman Kevin Martin, but they'll have a lot more weapons in their arsenal. That's because they're close with newly powerful Democratic committee chairs like John Dingell, Ed Markey, and Daniel Inouye, who'll use high-profile hearings to advance the Democratic commissioners' priorities. With the help of their allies in Congress, Adelstein and Copps will "put [the Republican commissioners] in a vise in the hearings," according to one Washington Democrat who follows communications issues. "It's like the cavalry coming over the hill."

What will that mean in practice? On media consolidation, it should allow Adelstein and Copps to begin laying the groundwork for reversing former chair Michael Powell's 2003 round of deregulation, which made it easier for big media companies to own multiple outlets in a single market. And it will almost certainly ensure that additional GOP deregulatory efforts are dead on arrival.

On net neutrality, the effects could be even more far-reaching. Already, the commission's Democrats have been working on an ad hoc basis to get telecommunications companies to agree to adhere to the neutrality principle—that is, not giving discounts to big Web content providers while charging little guys more. But their task will be much easier with Markey, a strong neutrality supporter, chairing the telecommunications subcommittee. Whether or not Markey succeeds in passing legislation ensuring neutrality, as he's said he intends to, his mere presence gives Adelstein and Copps vastly increased leverage. Says one expert: "It's certainly going to put a lot of telecom companies on notice that they shouldn't engage in discriminatory practices unless they want the wrath of the Hill."

THE MODERATOR
Perry Apelbaum
Staff director, House Judiciary Committee

Oversight figures to be perhaps the most important task of the next Congress, and many of the key areas that demand investigation—from torture to warrantless wiretapping to manipulation of Iraq intelligence—fall at least in part under the authority of the judiciary committees. The trick for Democrats will be to delve deeply into the failures and cover-ups of the Bush administration in these areas, without allowing the GOP or the press to portray their probes as need-

As Democrats gear up for oversight hearings, Perry Apelbaum, the staff director of the House Judiciary Committee, looks set to be a force for moderation.

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lessly partisan, vindictive, and backward-looking.

On that score, House Judiciary chair John Conyers (D-Mich.) has already made some Democrats nervous. Last year, he raised the possibility of impeachment—which Republicans quickly seized on to argue that a Democratic Congress would plunge the nation into turmoil. The impeachment talk was quickly slapped down by Nancy Pelosi, but fears remain in Democratic circles that Conyers's desire for justice could undercut the party's effort to present an image of constructive bipartisanship.

That's where Perry Apelbaum, the committee's staff director, could come in. Apelbaum has worked for Conyers since the congressman became the top Democrat on the committee in 1995, and by all accounts he enjoys his boss's absolute trust. But he also has good relations with the committee's Republican staff—in November, he had colleagues on both sides over to his house to watch the Ohio State–Michigan game. Just as important, as the top committee lawyer for the Democratic minority in the late 1990s, Apelbaum played a role in the impeachment defense of President Clinton, so he's seen firsthand how politically motivated congressional investigations can backfire. "Perry would be a moderating influence," says one Democratic insider who has worked closely with him.

None of this means he'll pull any punches: Apelbaum was the driving force behind two hard-hitting reports released last year by committee Democrats, on the various Bush administration violations of the Constitution, and on voting problems in Ohio's 2004 election. Julian Epstein, a Democratic lawyer and strategist who held Apelbaum's job in the early 1990s, calls him "probably the smartest attorney that I have ever worked with." If Democrats succeed in using oversight to expose and correct GOP failures, without in the process damaging their own image with voters, Apelbaum could be a key reason why.

THE SVENGALI
David Axelrod
Political consultant

Thanks to the Democrats' win last fall and the early excitement over the 2008 presidential contest, perhaps no state now has a more influential congressional delegation than Illinois. Rahm Emanuel, who masterminded the victory as Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chair, is now a member of the leadership, and almost certainly destined for bigger things. The state's senior senator, Dick Durbin, is the new majority whip. And then, of course, there's Barack Obama—maybe you've heard of him?

But you may not have heard of the Illinois political consultant who's helped engineer the rise of all three: David Axelrod. A former prodigy reporter at the *Chicago Tribune* who left to run Paul Simon's successful 1984 Senate campaign, Axelrod is the brains behind the Prairie State's newfound political prominence. But though he remains close to Emanuel, and every four years he runs Chicago Mayor Richard Daley's reelection campaign, Axelrod has never had a viable presidential candidate. (Bush media consultant Mark McKinnon calls him "the best guy in the business without a ring.") That's about to change. In recent months, according to a close associate, Axelrod has "cleared his decks" for Obama's presidential run, and has lined up his partner, David Plouffe, to be the senator's likely campaign manager. If Obama makes it to the White House, or even gets close, Axelrod could be the new Karl Rove.

Since 2003—when Axelrod backed Obama's Senate bid despite the presence of several better-known candidates in the Democratic primary field—the two have by all accounts undergone a kind of mind meld, talking every day and mapping out strategy. Axelrod is a skilled image-meister, but his all-around political sense is equally impressive. As a state senator preparing for his Senate run, Obama steered an important piece of death-penalty-reform legislation through the body. The bill was close to Obama's heart, but, as one adviser from the Senate campaign notes, it also represented the pet issue of the *Chicago Tribune*'s editorial board, which ended up endorsing Obama in the hotly contested primary. And it was Axelrod who helped Obama secure the crucial position as the legislation's front man.

Just as Rove is known for his tendency to attack his opponent's area of greatest strength, and for his insistence on ultra-tight message discipline, Axelrod has his own signature style. It's characterized, say associates, by a willingness to let his clients be who they are, and to spend months identifying a candidate's most appealing traits, then working to bring those out. In other words, expect Obama's campaign to ditch the kind of awkward, staged photo ops that have backfired on previous Democratic candidates—think Dukakis in that tank—in favor of efforts to convey the senator's natural charisma and intelligence.

THE DOYENNE
Nancy Reynolds Bagley
Hostess

Republicans didn't just use their time in power to increase inequality and impeach the president. They also created their own high-powered party scene. Over the last few years, Julianna Glover Weiss, a former press aide

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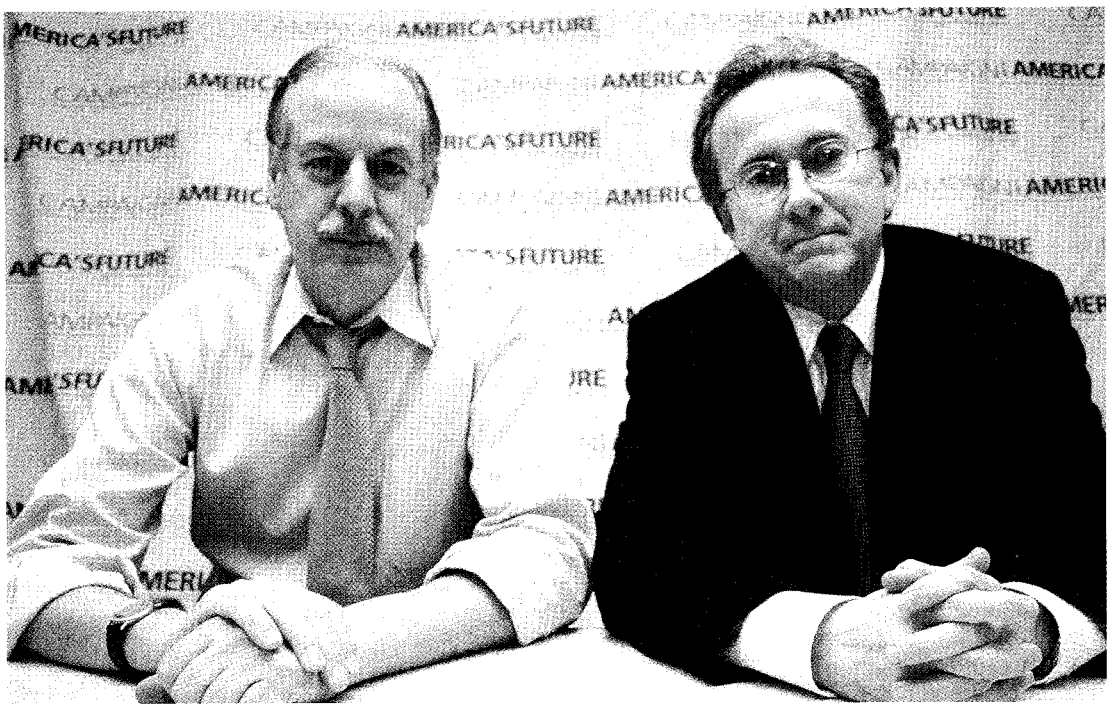

Robert Borosage (left) and Roger Hickey of the Campaign for America's Future are bidding to become the Grover Norquists of the left.

to Vice President Cheney, emerged at the center of Washington's new conservative social whirl, hosting must-attend events for the right young things of the Bush-DeLay era.

Bush may have two more years, but that era is over. With Republicans on the outs, Glover Weiss's parties—whose cachet always rested on their status as centers of power across a range of fields—have lost much of their luster. Which begs the question: Who's D.C.'s next premiere hostess?

Nancy Reynolds Bagley looks like a pretty good guess. The daughter of Democratic fund-raiser Smith Bagley and stepdaughter of Elizabeth Bagley, Bill Clinton's ambassador to Portugal (and a formidable socialite in her own right), Nancy is known for the bipartisanship of her guest lists. But as a committed and connected Democrat, there's no doubt that last fall's results have upped the value of her hand. She's close with Nancy Pelosi—a "fashion leader," according to the *New York Times*—and California Senator Barbara Boxer, among other newly powerful Democratic women.

Bagley spent two years in the '90s working on the Clinton health plan, then switched gears to take over the editorship of the society magazine *Washington Life* from her mother, Vicki. She skillfully parlayed the job into a position as one of the leading hostesses of Washington's younger generation. "She's got the list, and the list is all," says *Washington Times* gossip columnist Kevin Chaffee. "When you go to her parties, you see people who will make it worth your while to go." With Democrats now in control, that's more true than ever.

THE WARRIORS

Robert Borosage and Roger Hickey
Progressive activists

During the last decade, Grover Norquist's Wednesday meetings—at which assorted GOP insiders from across Washington would meet to plot strategy—played a crucial role in the Republican governing machine. With Democrats now back in power, there's a new power-meeting on the block. It's held on Tuesdays, not Wednesdays, but its guest list—which includes a range of progressive activists, Hill staffers, and Democratic consultants—suggests it could rival Norquist's from back in the day as a center of Washington influence.

The Tuesday meeting's organizers are Robert Borosage and Roger Hickey, of the Campaign for America's Future. Since last year, Borosage and Hickey have skillfully positioned their organization at the forefront of efforts to build the progressive wing of the Democratic Party. As the leaders of a coalition of liberal groups that includes Moveon.org, USAction, and a number of activist labor unions, they showed their clout two years ago by playing a crucial role in the successful fight against Social

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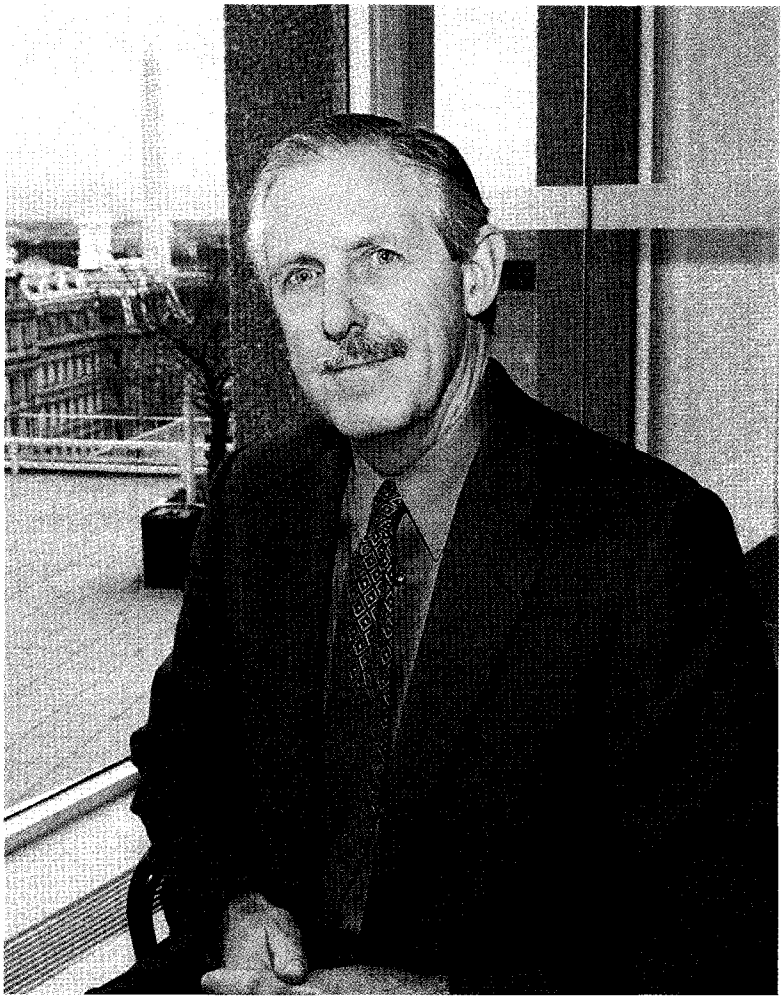

George Crawford is one of the few former Pelosi staffers to make the leap to K Street.

Security privatization. Last fall, they used hard-hitting TV ads to help knock off several GOP incumbents. And now they plan to help shape the issue terrain for '08—the coalition just released an energy-independence platform, and a universal health-care plan that has already drawn attention in congressional hearings.

Still, the center of gravity for the coalition—now called Americans United—is definitely outside Washington, and the group uses classic grassroots tactics to exert influence. When it wants the support of hesitant lawmakers, it typically demands a meeting back home. "It's either they meet with us or we publicize the fact that they didn't meet with us," says Hickey. "But either way it is a community event with lots of publicity." Could Borosage and Hickey meld their coalition's outside-the-Beltway energy with their own inside-the-Beltway access to decision makers to become the Grover Norquists of the left?

THE INSIDER
George Crawford
Lobbyist

Perhaps no one is better positioned to take advantage of the Democrats' improved fortunes on K Street than George Crawford, Nancy Pelosi's former chief of staff. Crawford left Capitol Hill in mid-2005, and is one of the few senior Pelosi staffers to make the recent leap to K Street. One measure of his influence: he estimates that when he departed the Hill, he had personally had a hand in hiring around fifty of the fifty-five employees in Pelosi's office at the time.

Many veteran Hill staffers make their careers mastering some intricate area of politics or policy. Crawford, however, was a generalist, and his new firm doesn't specialize either. "You name 'em, we got 'em," he says of his new client base, which includes everyone from ExxonMobil to College Loan Corp. The common thread is their dramatically diminished prospects under Democratic congressional control—and hence their sudden need for an insider like Crawford. After years of industry-friendly Republican governance, many companies face new regulation, subsidy rollbacks, and perhaps even congressional investigations.

One of Crawford's most controversial recent signings is Amgen. The pharmaceutical company hopes to short-circuit one of the first, and most cherished, items on the Democratic Congress's to-do list: a plan to allow the government to negotiate lower prescription-drug prices for seniors on Medicare. That measure passed the House within the first 100 hours, but faces stiffer opposition in the Senate, where Finance Committee chair Max Baucus has been skeptical (see "The Good Soldier," page 60).

Crawford's client list may not be popular with his former colleagues, but the rather old-fashioned former staffer himself still is. (Like his mentor, legendary Florida Congressman Claude Pepper, he does not refer to any

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ECM

"More like a genre than a label"

- Jim Macnie, The Village Voice

In Stores Now

Keith Jarrett
The Carnegie Hall Concert

"A Major Event" – *Nate Chinen, The New York Times*
Keith Jarrett piano

Tomasz Stanko Quartet
Lontano

"Stanko remains a defiant individualist, a romantic predator of song who has clinched his own place in jazz history..." – *Brian Morton, The Nation*
Tomasz Stanko trumpet
Marcin Wasilewski piano
Slawomir Kurkiewicz double-bass
Michal Miskiewicz drums

Stefano Bollani
Piano Solo

"These 16 tracks run the gamut emotionally and stylistically but there's a coherence and consistency that now goes beyond the clever and starts to touch upon the profound." – *Duncan Henning, Jazzwise (UK)*
Stefano Bollani piano

In stores March 6th

Anat Fort
w/ Perry Robinson, Ed Schuller & Paul Motian
A Long Story

"Anat Fort is a daring pianist-composer whose inventive way with tunes and time suggests a huge talent in the making." – *K. Leander Williams, Time Out New York*
Anat Fort piano
Perry Robinson ocarina, clarinet
Ed Schuller double-bass
Paul Motian drums

In Stores April 3rd

John Abercrombie Quartet
The Third Quartet

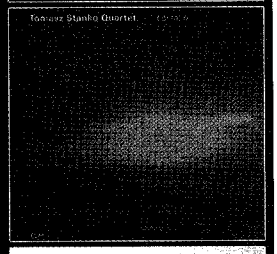
"Guitarist John Abercrombie is arguably the guitarist of his generation who pushes the boundaries of improvised music while still relating, most directly, to the jazz tradition." - *John Kelman, All About Jazz*
John Abercrombie guitar
Mark Feldman violin
Marc Johnson double-bass
Joey Baron drums
Don't miss the John Abercrombie Quartet live at Blues Alley on April 19th!!!

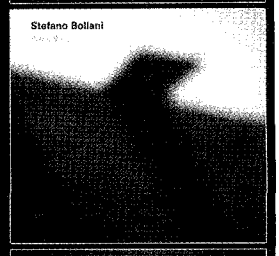
Paul Motian / Bill Frisell / Joe Lovano
Time And Time Again

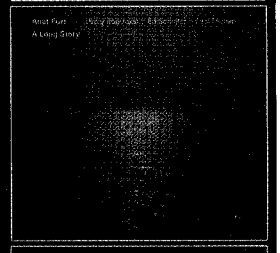
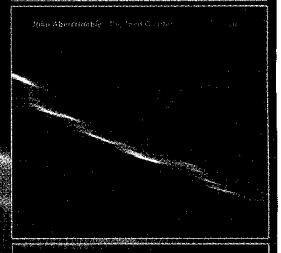
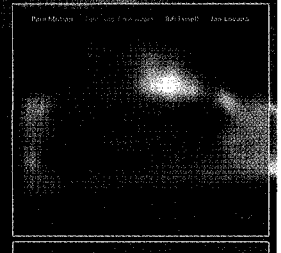
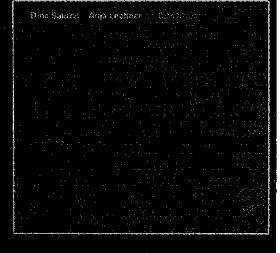
"An extraordinary group, and the definition of ensemble unity. Together, the drummer, saxophonist, and guitarist have found a way to make dreamy escapades carry weight, and heavy improvising sway mercurially." – *Jim Macnie, The Village Voice*
Paul Motian drums
Bill Frisell guitar
Joe Lovano tenor saxophone

Dino Saluzzi / Anja Lechner
Ojos Negros

"As close to perfection as any music-making I can recently recall" – *Richard Cook, JazzReview (UK)*
Dino Saluzzi bandoneon
Anja Lechner violoncello





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representative by their first name.) Crawford, who spent years laboring on the Rules Committee for Pepper, and later for Joe Moakley of Massachusetts, has developed close relationships with most of the current House leadership, including Majority Leader Steny Hoyer, Majority Whip James Clyburn, and their staffs. Still, Crawford is realistic about what his assistance can achieve. "People are looking for insight into how [Pelosi] operates, the dynamics of the Democratic caucus," he says. "I can help there ... But no matter what, some industries are going to have a relatively tough time here."

THE SHEPHERD

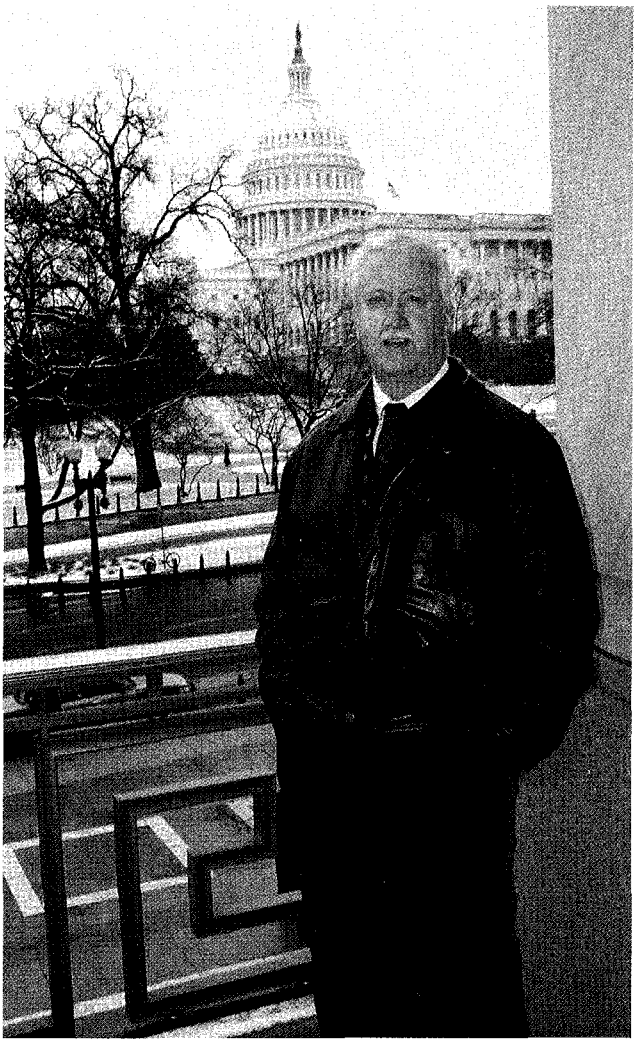
Bill Goold

Congressional Progressive Caucus staffer

Democrats may have picked up a few red-state seats last fall by running culturally conservative candidates. But there's no question that on bread-and-butter economic issues and on Iraq, the caucus, and Congress as a whole, shifted decisively to the left. That's good news for the Congressional Progressive Caucus (CPC), a faction of congressional Democrats (plus liberal Senator Bernie Sanders, an independent from Vermont) that works to advance progressive priorities. The group gave money and support on the stump to help elect eight new progressive Democrats, almost all of whom ran on an antiwar platform. Overall, it has seen its membership grow from fifty-seven in 2005 to sixty-seven and counting today, making it the largest caucus within the party by some margin.

Now the CPC is well placed to exploit its electoral success. Nancy Pelosi, a former member, dropped out of all caucuses upon becoming speaker, but the group boasts many of her closest congressional allies, including George Miller, Rosa DeLauro, and up-and-comer Michael Capuano. Even more important, eleven current members are new House committee chairs, including powerful figures like Charlie Rangel at Ways and Means, John Conyers at Judiciary, Henry Waxman at Government Reform, Barney Frank at Financial Services, and Miller at Education and Workforce. Indeed, the House's conduct of oversight—perhaps its most crucial task over the next two years—will be carried out largely by CPC members.

The group's new prominence makes Bill Goold a man to watch. Over a twenty-nine-year career on the Hill, Goold has worked for a long list of progressives from both houses, including Sanders, Tom Harkin, and Rush Holt. Since mid-2005, as the CPC's executive director and only paid staff member—his salary is funded by member dues—it's been Goold's job to increase



Bill Goold's Congressional Progressive Caucus is at the forefront of efforts to confront President Bush over Iraq.

the caucus's influence. He's doing well so far. Aside from boosting the CPC's numbers, Goold has, by all accounts, brought a new energy and focus to its activities. "This is the best-organized caucus since I have been here, since the caucus was formed," says Julie Nickson, chief of staff to Rep. Barbara Lee (D-Calif.), a co-chair of the group.

Over the next two years, Goold and the CPC will be at the forefront of Democratic efforts to confront the White House over Iraq. Last month, caucus leaders introduced legislation that would repeal congressional authorization for the use of force, and require the president to withdraw troops within six months. They'll also be a force for promoting economic fairness, election

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reform—including public financing—and energy independence, reducing poverty, and fighting global warming. More broadly, Goold is working with outside-the-Beltway activist groups like Moveon.org to position the CPC as the congressional voice for the growing grassroots progressive movement.

Not everyone agrees that the CPC's renewed prominence is a good thing for the party. Many of the Democratic gains last fall came in swing or GOP-leaning districts, and those seats will be fiercely contested again in 2008. If the CPC and its allies succeed in pushing Pelosi to adopt an agenda that's too far to the left, some new members could be placed in jeopardy. "She will be under intense pressure from the more liberal wing of the party to do some things that could be damaging to her," says Bill Andresen, a lobbyist and former Democratic Hill staffer who's active in moderate Democratic circles. Still, as the leadership inches ever closer to the CPC's position supporting withdrawal from Iraq, Goold could be even more influential.

THE TOUGH COOKIE

Nancy Jacobson
Fund-raiser

Jacobson, a former finance director for the Democratic National Committee, has long been a major player in party fund-raising circles. But as one of the newest members of Hillary Clinton's ever-growing political apparatus, she could be more valuable than ever.

Jacobson has deep ties to the New Democrat movement that helped bring Bill Clinton to power in 1992. She was a key fund-raiser during that campaign, and has since worked closely with the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, and with Evan Bayh, the moderate Democratic senator from Indiana. Her husband, the pollster Mark Penn—whose influence with Hillary can scarcely be exaggerated—pioneered efforts in the Clinton White House to target moderate swing voters, and is now doing the same thing for the former first lady. When Bayh announced last month that he wouldn't run for president, Jacobson quickly signed on with Hillary as well.

The New York senator hasn't exactly been struggling to raise cash lately. But Jacobson's vast Rolodex—and her reputation for hosting parties, with Penn, that have some of the highest-powered guest lists in Washington—could make her as valuable for her ability to help win over influential friends to Hillary's cause as for the dollars she brings in. "She is able to find people who may not be the usual suspects," says Linda Moore Forbes, a top aide to Bayh who has worked closely with Jacobson for years. "Especially folks forty and younger, who want to get involved and have a lot to contribute, not only in terms of finance, but [who] also have really good ideas and want to be part of a cause."

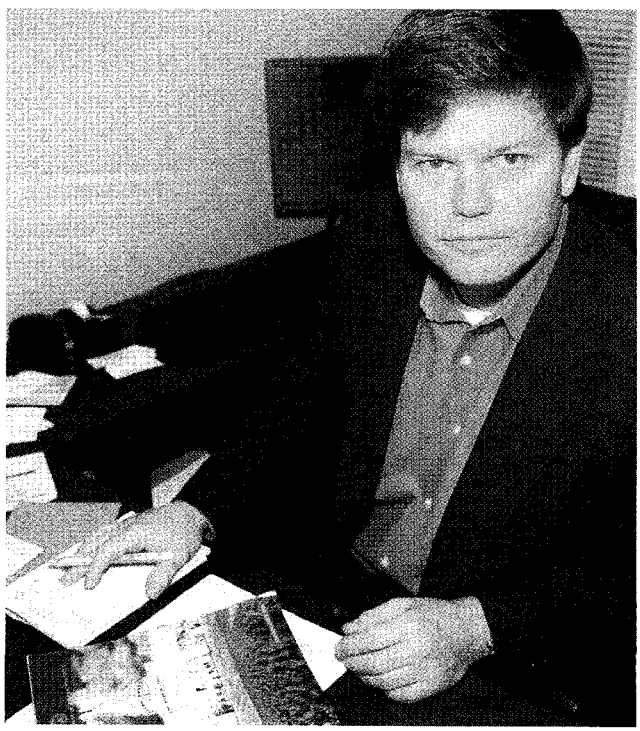
Not everyone's a fan. Jacobson is part of the "slash-and-burn school of fund-raising," according to one person who's also active in Democratic money circles, and who argues that Jacobson is too focused on extracting an immediate contribution from potential donors, rather than building ongoing relationships. "I've worked with some pretty tough cookies, but she's one that I would put at the far extreme." Already, Hillary has been fighting the perception that her nascent campaign puts cold calculation above sentiment and conviction. Jacobson's take-no-prisoners style may not help.

THE GO-BETWEEN

Jonathan Jones
Hill-staffer-turned-lobbyist

In recent weeks, some reform-minded Democrats have been arguing that, despite the new lobbying

Former Hill aide Jonathan Jones is a key bridge builder between Senate Democrats and K Street, where he now works.



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restrictions Congress just passed, the party needs to do more to distance itself from K Street. But the fact remains that, under current law, neither party can expect to govern successfully without keeping open the lines of communication between Capitol Hill and Washington's ever-expanding lobbying community. And Jonathan Jones, who recently resigned as chief of staff to Sen. Tom Carper (D-Del.) to join mega-lobbyists Johnson, Madigan, Peck, will be key to ensuring that happens.

Jones first worked for Carper as governor, and came to Washington in 2000 when his boss was elected to the Senate. In recent years, he has emerged as a crucial bridge builder between lobbyists and Senate Democrats. Two years ago, he helped found Third Way, a policy and strategy group supported by centrist, pro-business Senate Democrats like Carper, Mary Landrieu of Louisiana, and Mark Pryor and Blanche Lincoln of Arkansas. That same year—along with Paul Bach, chief of staff to Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wisc.)—Jones began holding, every other Monday, a "Bi-Weekly Lobbyist Meeting." The confabs, which brought together Democratic Senate staffers and supportive lobbyists—many of whom were former Hill staffers themselves—were intended, according to an invitation, to "strengthen ties to Democrats in the business community." Rather than concentrating on specific sectors, the meetings attracted K Street Democrats from a range of industries, and focused on areas of mutual interest—encouraging innovation, and limiting class-action lawsuits, for instance—with an eye to helping Democrats' political prospects. They seem to have started a trend: House Democrats quickly established similar meetings of their own, and even the office of Pelosi, who's never been associated with the party's lobbyist wing, began its own formal outreach to lobbyists the following year.

In his new job, Jones figures to be an effective advocate for his corporate clients, who represent a range of sectors, including financial services and health care. Because his old boss, Carper, is known as a believer in free markets, Jones already has good relationships with much of the business community. "It's different than coming off of Feingold's staff," says Pat Griffin, a prominent Democratic lobbyist and consultant, referring to the liberal Wisconsin senator. Much of Jones's new workload could involve preparing politically connected clients to face oversight hearings run by his former Democratic colleagues. "There will be a lot of people who will be interested in trying to navigate that," says Jones. "And we will be helping them to do so."

Jones also expects to remain active in Democratic efforts to forge additional links between Capitol Hill and the lobbyist community. The Monday meetings were disbanded last year amid concerns about Democrats appearing to have a K Street Project of their own. ("There was a perception issue," he says. "[Our meetings were] very, very different.") But Third Way has begun a series of similar meetings, in which Jones says he plans to be involved. If Congress's more liberal Democrats are serious about distancing their party from the lobbyists, they may have Jones and his friends to contend with.

THE PRODIGY

John Lapp

Campaign consultant

In Washington, campaign season never really ends, but it does usually slow down for a few months. This year, however, the next battle for the House began the moment that Nancy Pelosi was sworn in as speaker. Already, candidates are being recruited and opposition researchers working overtime. That bestows extraordinary influence on John Lapp—one of the lesser-known architects of the Democratic victory last November—and his bare-knuckle brand of campaigning.

During the past election cycle, Lapp was executive director of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and oversaw the committee's vital independent expenditure program (IE). After the new Congress was sworn in, the thirty-five-year-old turned down several offers from Democratic presidential contenders to turn media consultants McMahon Squier & Associates into McMahon Squier Lapp & Associates. His mission instead: to help Pelosi keep her job after 2008.

Lapp enjoys outsize influence thanks in part to recent changes to campaign finance legislation that allow political parties to raise more money, as long as parties spend the extra funds without any communication with the candidates. Consequently, last year DCCC chair Rahm Emanuel couldn't tell the committee how to spend more than half of the millions he'd raised. This was an agonizing restriction for Emanuel (who is described by a friend as "the biggest control freak in Washington"), but ultimately it didn't matter, because the job fell instead to Lapp, who was able to work around the problem. Channeling his mentor, with whom he has an almost symbiotic relationship, Lapp embraced a take-no-prisoners strategy, using strike teams to do research and rapid response, and essentially running dozens of shadow campaigns from the DCCC's Washington office. Lapp struck particularly hard in red districts, and at his command last-minute DCCC attack ads flooded competitive races.

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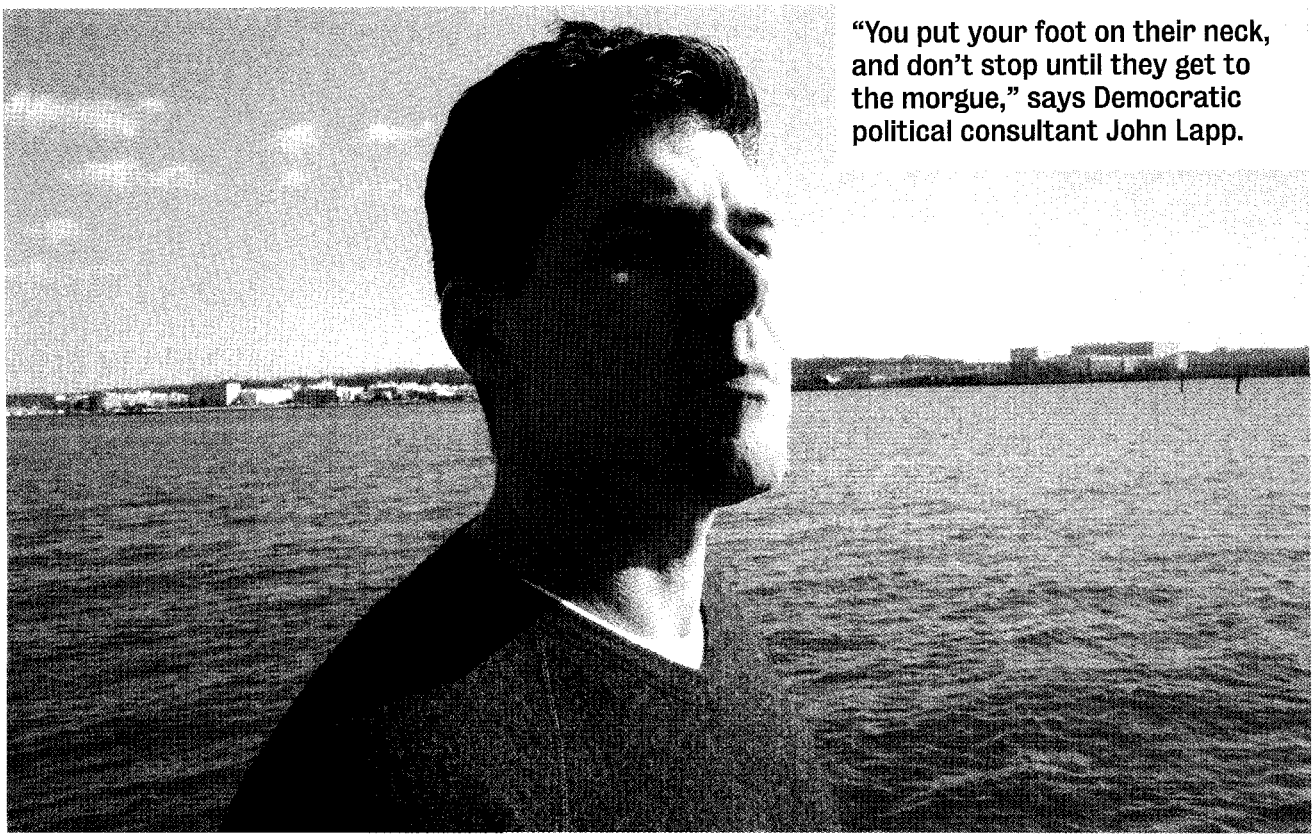

"You put your foot on their neck, and don't stop until they get to the morgue," says Democratic political consultant John Lapp.

Lapp represents the new breed of Democratic campaign consultants, who are just as comfortable with bloodletting as their Republican counterparts. His campaign philosophy is to "stick it to them," he says. "You put your foot on their neck, and don't stop until they get to the morgue." Look for that attitude—and Lapp—to take center stage in the next election.

THE GATEKEEPER
John Lawrence
Chief of staff for Speaker Pelosi

Pelosi's chief of staff, John Lawrence, is newly powerful for the obvious reason: everything on the speaker's plate passes through his office. Lawrence is a wonky, experienced Capitol Hill operator who spent three decades as a top aide to George Miller, perhaps Pelosi's closest ally in the House. But his forte is policy. He has served as top Democratic staffer on the Education and Workforce Committee and the Resources Committee, and as a top aide to the Democratic Steering and Policy Committee. He also has solid bipartisan bona fides: as Miller's top Health, Education and Welfare staffer, he helped write the No Child Left Behind Act.

Expect Lawrence to also play a pivotal role in managing one of the Democrats' greatest challenges: how to deal with the lobbyists of K Street. Late last year, as the likelihood of a Democratic electoral victory grew, the semiregular meetings with lobbyists held by Lawrence and other top leadership aides grew increasingly popular. That relationship has continued in the aftermath of the win. But now, though House Democrats remain willing to solicit campaign contributions, they're also eager to demonstrate that they're serious about ending the Republican "culture of corruption." Lawrence's new role will require him to reconcile these diverging goals—to show voters that his party represents a more honest alternative to the GOP, without needlessly turning up its nose when Washington's lobbying community can be useful. It's a delicate balancing act, and in many ways Lawrence is the man on the tightrope.

THE SURVIVOR
Linda Lipsen
Trial-lawyer lobbyist

In 2001, President Bush came into office with his sights set on the trial lawyers. By enacting tort reform,

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which would limit the amount of damages plaintiffs could seek, Bush and Rove hoped to deal a deathblow to the political clout of a sector that had become crucial to Democratic fund-raising. "There is no question that Republicans tried to do everything to destroy them," says a Democratic lobbyist who followed the issue. "This was not: 'One for me, one for you; three for me, three for you.' This was: 'I want you to die.'"

As things turned out, the trial lawyers did not die. Only a small piece of Bush's tort-reform agenda made it through Congress, and in last fall's midterms, perhaps no professional group came out with their political reputation more clearly enhanced. As usual, the trial lawyers contributed more money by far to Democratic candidates than any other financial sector. In addition, last year the American Association for Justice (formerly the Association of Trial Lawyers of America) for the first time worked to elect candidates to the House. And, for good measure, fourteen out of the eighteen trial-lawyer candidates won their races, helping to bury once and for all the notion that the "slick trial lawyer" label is a political killer. The near-death experience may only have made them more powerful: "When everyone is trying to kill you and you survive and you fight back tough, you gain tremendously," says the Democratic lobbyist.

The person who fought back the toughest was Linda Lipsen, the AAJ's top lobbyist. Lipsen is known as an honest but aggressive advocate who it pays not to get on the wrong side of. Over the next two years, she'll be working to capitalize on the trial lawyers' impressive performance last year. With only a slim Democratic majority, it's unlikely she'll be able to go fully on the offense in the next two years. But, she says, she may lay the groundwork for future gains by exploiting the growing split between business and culturally conservative Republicans on the Hill. Attempts by the administration, for instance, to use executive-branch rulings to preempt state safety regulations have raised the hackles of some GOP advocates of traditional values. And if the trial lawyers match their impressive '06 showing by helping to elect a Democrat to the White House in '08, Lipsen will be perfectly placed to reap the rewards.

Linda Lipsen fought off Karl Rove's effort to destroy trial lawyers. Now she's ready to go on the offense.

THE MUCKRAKER
Joshua Micah Marshall
Internet journalist

Joshua Marshall's blog, Talking Points Memo (TPM), came of age in the era of Republican dominance. Marshall, who has written for the *Hill*, the *American Prospect*, and the *Washington Monthly*, synthesized the personal, outrage-driven perspective of liberal sites like the Daily Kos (which started after TPM) and the original reporting provided by traditional news organizations. And he has somehow figured out a way to make it financially viable.

Some of the site's key moments were also defining moments in the GOP's rule. Marshall's tireless reporting on Trent Lott's praise for Strom Thurmond helped trigger the Senate leader's fall from power. But TPM really came into its own over the last two years, during the Social Security debate and the Jack Abramoff scandal, when Marshall engaged his readers in a sort of

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cooperative news-gathering enterprise. The site grew to include a group blog, TPM Café, a campaign blog, Election Central, and an investigative arm, TPM Muckraker, with full-time Washington and New York reporters digging up political dirt under Marshall's direction.

Now that Democrats have taken over on Capitol Hill, Marshall's power has, if anything, grown. He and his reporters have shown no sign of going easy on the new regime—the site was quick to catalog the ethical lapses of Alcee Hastings and Jack Murtha, who unsuccessfully sought prominent leadership posts late last year. More importantly, with Democrats in charge of committees, TPM's excellent sources are likely to shovel the site plenty of muck dredged up by congressional investigators. The site is poised to act over the next few years as a kind of vital feedback loop for Democratic insiders and plugged-in progressives—as both a clearinghouse for readers eager to keep up with the investigative onslaught, and as a key driver of that onslaught through its original reporting. With that in mind, Marshall is planning to beef up the site's Washington presence by hiring a new set of D.C.-based editorial staffers to keep an eye on Congress and the federal government—and to keep the Democrats honest.

THE CRUSADER

Susan McCue

Global AIDS and poverty activist

One of the few areas of foreign policy where President Bush's record has received wide praise has been combating AIDS in Africa. Stiffened by pressure from its evangelical Christian base, the administration has significantly increased funding for efforts to fight the disease. Still, with millions of Africans continuing to die of AIDS each year, and more than 1 billion people globally living on less than a dollar a day, there's plenty more that could be done to help the world's least fortunate.

If these issues are to grow in prominence—or even to remain on Washington's radar at all—Susan McCue will be crucial. Last month, McCue ended her seven-year tenure as Harry Reid's chief of staff to head up the ONE campaign, Bono's Washington-based effort to fight global AIDS and extreme poverty. As the 2008 presidential race heats up, she plans to use her Hill connections and experience, her media and communications savvy, and her organizational chops to put the problems of AIDS and poverty on the political front burner.

McCue has unassailable credentials as one of Washington's premiere inside players. She began working for Reid in 1990 after waiting tables in Georgetown, and quickly rose through the ranks to become press secretary. After a brief period working as a political consultant in the late '90s, she returned to Reid's office as chief of staff. By all accounts, McCue was crucial in conceiving and implementing Senate Democrats' vastly improved messaging and communications strategy over the last two years. And Reid has had no closer adviser and confidant. The normally poker-faced Nevadan choked up at McCue's recent going-away party, telling the crowd, "She's like one of our children ... she's part of our family." Had McCue stuck around, she'd likely have been the Senate's most powerful staffer.

But McCue is also "a rare species in Washington, which is a fully formed human being," according to the Republican media adviser Mark McKinnon, who was on the search committee that selected McCue for the ONE job. "She doesn't need the mirror of politics to reflect who she is." Not that her new assignment with the ONE campaign isn't intensely political. McCue can't legally lobby her former boss, or anyone else in Congress, for two years, thanks to new ethics rules. Still, as the campaign seeks to restore a $1 billion funding shortfall for foreign aid and development programs in this year's budget, her prodigious network of Capitol Hill relationships sure can't hurt.

Most of all, her deep bond with Reid, who will have a major say in how Congress spends money, could pay dividends. That's particularly true given Reid's penchant for remembering his friends. "If there's one thing about Harry Reid," says Frank Fahrenkopf, a Republican lawyer and former RNC chair who's known the Senate leader since their high school days in Nevada, "he's very loyal."

THE CONFIDANT

Christine Pelosi

Political organizer

Political leaders typically have long lists of official advisers, but it can often be the less formal confidants who wield the real power. And, according to a San Francisco friend of the family, Nancy Pelosi's most influential informal adviser, after her husband, is her second-to-oldest daughter, Christine.

A lawyer by training, Christine—who's forty but seems younger—has always been by far the most political of the four Pelosi daughters. Friends describe her as tough, disciplined, ferociously well organized, and highly intelligent—with a weakness for pop culture. "She's very good at putting together systems that make everything work better," says Rep. John Tierney (D-Mass.),

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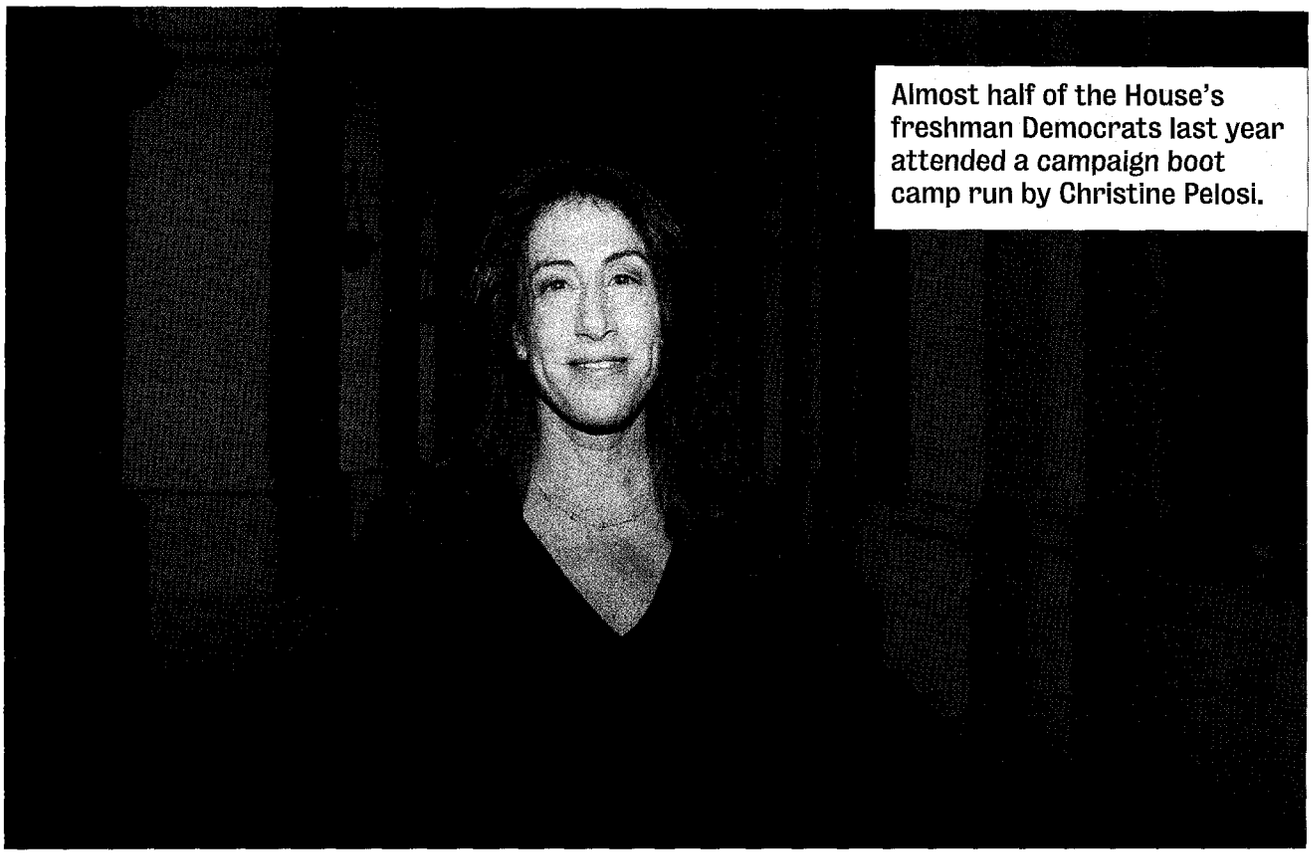

Almost half of the House's freshman Democrats last year attended a campaign boot camp run by Christine Pelosi.

for whom she worked as chief of staff until 2005.

Pelosi spent the last two years working with the labor union AFSCME to run a campaign boot camp intended to turn promising progressive challengers into polished, sound-bite-ready contenders for office. The results were impressive: twelve of the thirty new Democratic House freshmen attended her training. She also was crucial to the Democrats' much-praised effort to make gains among military voters, helping to create the Veterans and Military Families Council, which played a key role in several major Democratic wins, including Jim Webb's. "Christine is a heavyweight" independent of Nancy, says another San Francisco friend.

Still, there's nothing like having your mother become speaker of the House to up your influence overnight. Christine, of course, plays down her role. "[My mother] has a great staff," she says. "She doesn't need me." And it's not likely that mother and daughter spend all their private time talking shop. But few are better than Christine at "switching those gears and becoming a sounding board," as a friend puts it. No doubt in the next few years they'll have a lot to talk about.

THE LOYALIST

Patti Solis Doyle

Fund-raising director for Senator Clinton

The first Clinton presidential run was characterized by gab-happy advisers and a shoot-from-the-hip style. A decade and a half later, the third Clinton presidential campaign lies in the hands of Patti Solis Doyle, a woman who seems congenitally allergic to the spotlight. Solis Doyle is the director of Clinton's fund-raising operation, which includes her leadership committee, HillPAC, and her Senate committee, Friends of Hillary (FOH). She typically operates behind the scenes, directing a phalanx of assistants and researchers, sweet-talking Democratic donors, and hammering out strategy with the candidate herself.

Some Democrats outside Hillaryland say Clinton's reliance on a small coterie of advisers stifle the creativity and energy needed to capture the nomination. But that complaint may miss the point. The current system—typified by the fiercely competitive Solis Doyle at the top—reflects the value Clinton places on loyalty and discipline.

Solis Doyle, the sixth child of Mexican immigrants,

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As Democrats work to advance the cause of universal health care, lobbyist Laurie Sullivan will be a crucial player.

met Clinton when the latter was still the first lady of Arkansas. The two have rarely worked apart since then. Since Hillary Clinton was first elected senator, Solis Doyle has masterminded an ambitious effort to build a potential donor list numbering in the hundreds of thousands; HillPAC collected close to $3 million last cycle alone. The PAC also bankrolls Clinton's vast political operation of consultants, staffers, researchers, and policy wonks. Political campaigns are built on favors and relationships; Solis Doyle has spent years cultivating those for Hillary Clinton.

THE SWING VOTER

Laurie Sullivan
Health-care lobbyist

Various factors did in the Democrats' last attempt to pass universal health care, in 1993. But perhaps the most important was the opposition of health insurers, who understood that a publicly funded system would hurt their bottom line. If Democrats want to take a run at the issue over the next two years—or even start building viable support for the future—they'll need to figure out how to neutralize that opposition.

Whether they're successful or not, Laurie Sullivan will be a key player in the process. Sullivan, a veteran Democratic lobbyist, recently ended her professional partnership with the campaign consultant Nick Baldick—who ran John Edwards's 2004 presidential bid—to found a new boutique firm, Avenue Solutions. She appears to have all but cornered the market on representing the interests of major health insurers in Washington: she counts Aetna, BlueCross BlueShield, Medco, and United Health Group, among other big names, as clients. At the same time, though she's never worked on Capitol Hill, Sullivan has "very close ties" to the new Senate leadership, according to another leading Democratic lobbyist.

Sullivan grew up in a union household in Connecticut, but spent a decade doing legal and government relations work at Aetna's corporate headquarters. She built her influence through a long history of Democratic Party activism, both in Washington and Connecticut, and is particularly tight with the state's two Democratic senators, Joe Lieberman and Chris Dodd, and their staffs.

But Sullivan's Democratic bona fides don't necessarily mean she'll be a force for cooperation between her clients and Congress. Depending on how she uses her power, she could be an ally or an adversary for Democrats

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looking to advance the cause of universal health care. "We often disagree," she says of her Democratic friends. "But we at least can share perspective."

THE GOOD SOLDIER

Russ Sullivan
Staff director, Senate Finance Committee

After six years of President Bush's slash-and-burn tax cuts, combined with the GOP Congress's neglect of the tax system's structural problems, reforming the tax code will be near the top of the Democrats' agenda. But there's just one problem: Max Baucus, the new chair of the Senate Finance Committee, is a conservative Montanan with a reputation for bucking the party line. Baucus's recent insistence on holding detailed hearings before moving forward with a major Democratic priority—legislation to give the government the power to negotiate drug prices over Medicare—doesn't augur well for his willingness to be a team player. But that tension could make Russ Sullivan a crucial figure over the next two years.

As the committee's staff director, Sullivan—a tax attorney from Arkansas and onetime law clerk for Hillary Clinton at the Rose law firm—will be the aide with perhaps the biggest direct influence on Democratic tax policy. An experienced but easygoing Hill operator, he's known for his ability to somehow find the lighter side of tax policy—"Whatever the bill is on the floor," says one Democratic staffer, "his briefings are notoriously hilarious"—and for his good relationships with staffers on both sides of the aisle.

Baucus and Sullivan's studiously bipartisan approach has already been evident this session, and not necessarily to Democrats' advantage. The party was elected in part on the promise of raising the minimum wage—an overwhelmingly popular position. But after the House had easily passed a minimum-wage hike in mid-January, Baucus sponsored a GOP-backed provision that would have tied any raise to tax breaks for businesses—something House Democrats had made it clear they could not support. The move put the House and Senate on a collision course that, as of last month, could delay passage of a key Democratic priority. "Sometimes you have to modify your bill," says Sullivan.

Baucus is up for reelection in '08, which means, according to one former Finance Committee staffer, "he's going to be moving in directions that will help win him reelection." In other words, to the right. There are some top committee aides who look likely to serve as a check on their bosses' more independent instincts (see "The Moderator," page 47). But don't count on that from Sullivan. "I work for Max Baucus," he says. "I'm his agent. The staff here in the Senate—we do what the bosses want."

THE WATCHDOG

David Walker
Comptroller general, Government Accountability Office

For the past four years, while Congress has been under almost uninterrupted Republican control, David Walker, a former Arthur Andersen executive and onetime registered Republican, has headed the Government Accountability Office (GAO), the legislative branch's investigative arm. Unfortunately for Walker, during that time the GOP wasn't very interested in oversight. When Walker started doing his job too well, the Republican congressional leadership threatened to cut his funding. That forced Walker's GAO to abandon, among many other projects, its historic lawsuit seeking documents from the vice president's secret Energy Task Force meetings.

But now the Republicans can no longer cramp his style. Before ousted GOP lawmakers had even started packing up their offices, Walker published an extensive laundry list of investigative priorities—praised by Democratic leaders like Henry Waxman—for the next Congress. Topics ranged from entitlement and education programs to intelligence reform and aid for the Gulf coast. But for Walker, perhaps the most pressing issue of the past few years has been the war in Iraq, where his son has served. He's repeatedly pushed for a full accounting of Pentagon spending, and blasted the department's "atrocious financial management" and lax supervision of military contractors.

Executive-branch incompetence isn't Walker's only target. He's also railed against the public and politicians alike for their "myopia" on budget issues—and he spent the first few weeks of the 110th Congress tirelessly promoting fiscal accountability everywhere from Capitol Hill to *60 Minutes*. Walker's support will be invaluable to Democrats in their oversight role, since his conservative credentials will make it harder for Republicans to characterize the investigations as partisan. He's likely to be the most welcome and frequent guest at Democratic-controlled hearings since John Dean. ♦

—Additional reporting by Christopher Hayes and Avi Klein.

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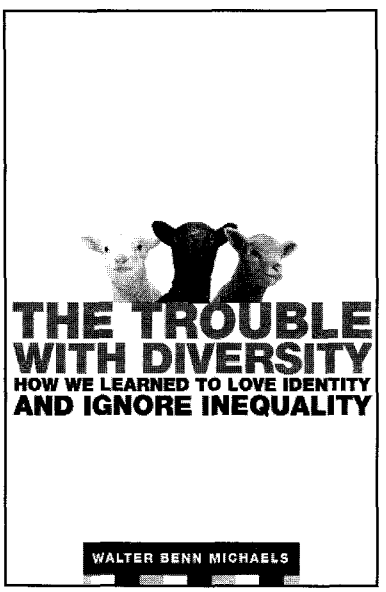
Invisible Men

Race is no longer the unacknowledged dividing line in America. Class is.



The Trouble With Diversity
By Walter Benn Michaels
$23, Metropolitan Books

By Richard D. Kahlenberg

For more than a decade, I've been appearing at forums on affirmative action and playing a strange role. Panels typically include a proponent of affirmative action, an opponent of affirmative action, and then there is me—a supporter of affirmative action based on class rather than race. In these discussions I ask my fellow liberals, Why is it "progressive" to support a college admissions program that favors the son of a wealthy black doctor over the child of a poor white waitress? Why not give a leg up to the children of poor black secretaries, poor Hispanic gardeners, and poor white waitresses, and let the doctors' kids make it in on merit?

At first I appear to be making some headway with the audience, arguing that hidden beneath racial issues are deeper issues of class inequality. Then I'm stopped cold. Invariably, someone from the audience gets up and accuses me of trying to change the subject and avoid the issue of race. "No one in America wants to talk about race," the individual will say. Heads in the audience will nod in unison. The idea that America runs from race is part of the catechism. Suddenly I become the sellout, the guy who won't face up to the reality of race in America.

Now, along comes Walter Benn Michaels, a professor of English at the University of Illinois at Chicago, to argue that the catechism has it exactly wrong. In his slender new book, *The Trouble With Diversity*, Michaels writes, "Although no remark is more common in American public life than the observation that we don't like to talk about race, no remark ... is more false." He explains, "[I]n fact, we love to talk about race. And, in the university, not only do we talk about it; we write books and articles about it, we teach and take classes about it, and we arrange our admissions policies in order to take it into account." We don't use class as a proxy for race, Michaels says; we use race as a proxy for class. Indeed, we talk incessantly about race in part, he argues, to avoid talking about class.

Affirmative action in college admissions is a perfect example of what Michaels is talking about. A 2004 Century Foundation study by the researchers Anthony Carnevale and Stephen Rose found that racial affirmative action at 146 of the nation's most selective colleges and universities ensured that three times as many African American and Latino students got in than would have based on grades and test scores alone. By contrast, while virtually every university will tell you that they also give a preference to low-income students who overcome obstacles, Carnevale and Rose found that

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economically disadvantaged applicants receive no boost in admissions. Former Princeton President William Bowen's study of selective institutions came to the same conclusion. Most (though not all) of those universities that pursue class-based affirmative action do so because they are banned from using race. They are less interested in aiding poor students per se than in trying indirectly to produce racial diversity.

As a result, while selective colleges and universities have made some significant (though still insufficient) strides in diversity by race, poor kids are virtually absent on their campuses. Michaels cites Carnevale and Rose's finding that at the institutions studied, just 3 percent of students came from the lowest socioeconomic quarter of the population, while 74 percent came from the richest quarter—a 1:25 ratio. These disparities have moved a few higher education leaders—Princeton's Bowen, former Harvard President Lawrence Summers, and Amherst President Anthony Marx, for example—to call for socioeconomic affirmative action. The primary focus in higher education, however, remains on race.

Consider the reaction to a recent report that the University of California at Los Angeles had admitted a freshman class that was just 2 percent African American. Appropriately, the story received heavy press coverage. A commission was formed, and action plans were detailed to address the problem. For black students to be underrepresented by a factor of six (blacks constitute about 12 percent of the U.S. population) was rightly considered unacceptable. But according to Carnevale's research, poor children are underrepresented by a factor of eight—and not just on one campus, but at selective colleges nationwide. Where is the outrage about that?

Some accept class inequality at universities as a manifestation of merit discrepancies. David Brooks claims that "the rich don't exploit the poor, they just outcompete them." Michaels bitingly replies: "And if outcompeting people means tying their ankles together and loading them down with extra weight while hiring yourself the most expensive coaches and the best practice facilities, [Brooks is] right."

Consider another area of controversy—one now before the U.S. Supreme Court: the issue of school integration in elementary and secondary education. The social science research has long found that if a school wants to boost academic achievement, getting the right economic mix is vital. Racial integration boosted black test scores in places like Charlotte, North Carolina, but not in places like Boston, Massachusetts, because in Charlotte, blacks went to school with middle-class whites, and in Boston they went to school with poor and working-class whites. The research is clear: blacks don't necessarily do better when they sit next to whites, but poor kids do better in middle-class schools, where they are surrounded by peers who have big dreams and plan to go to college, parents who monitor and volunteer at the school, and good teachers with high expectations.

Nevertheless, school integration is usually seen as an issue of race, not class, even after most districts have been released from court-ordered desegregation plans addressing the vestiges of past segregation. Hundreds of districts use race as a factor in student assignment; only about forty look at socioeconomic status. And, as with affirmative action in higher education, much of the interest in income integration in those districts is that it will produce a racial dividend in a way that the courts consider perfectly legal.

Finally, consider the Bush administration's outrageous response to Hurricane Katrina. Most commentators emphasized the race of the New Orleans residents who were left behind. Cornel West, for example, declared, "Let's be honest, we live in one of the bleakest moments in the history of black people in this nation." He went on to describe conditions in the Superdome, where many of the homeless residents were temporarily housed, as "a living hell for black people." But Michaels rejects the "George Bush doesn't care about black people" theory, pointing out that "Nobody doubts that George Bush cares about Condoleezza Rice." Instead the lesson is, Michaels says, that Bush doesn't care about *poor* people—or at least doesn't care about poverty. Michaels writes, "We like blaming racism, but the truth is that there weren't too many rich black people left behind when everybody who could get out of New Orleans did so."

The obvious retort to Michaels's line of thinking—and to the entire race vs. class debate—is: Why not address both? Discrimination and deprivation, and prejudice and poverty, are distinct ills, and all need to be fought. Pitting race against class is a false choice, noted Alan Wolfe in *Slate* magazine: "Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, the highpoint of postwar liberalism, featured both a Civil Rights Act and a War on Poverty." On one level, Wolfe's criticism is obviously true. There is absolutely no conflict between enforcing antidiscrimination laws and fighting poverty—they are complementary and mutually reinforcing efforts. Likewise, on the school integration issue, one can favor socioeconomic integration to raise academic achievement and also favor explicit measures for racial integration to further the role of the public schools in fostering tolerance and social cohesion.

But as Michaels points out, many of those who say we need to simultaneously address race and class never get around to the class piece of the bargain. For example, when its affirmative action program was under attack, the University of Michigan made a big point of saying that it was concerned about both racial and economic diversity. But while it kept meticulous records of racial diversity, it hasn't even had benchmarks in place for measuring economic diversity. As Michaels notes, "[C]lass has always

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seemed a little like the odd man out in the race/gender/class trinity."

Moreover, Michaels charges, many wealthy people support affirmative action by race to avoid deeper issues of class. They want to contain the debate to the question of "what color skin the rich kids should have." At Harvard, Michaels notes, almost 90 percent of students come from the top economic half of the population, and almost three quarters from the top fifth. If Harvard were to aggressively use class-based affirmative action, more than half of the students would lose out. "It's no wonder that rich white kids and their parents aren't complaining about diversity," Michaels concludes.

Similarly, Michaels argues that conservatives prefer the debate to be over race and identity—rather than class and inequality—because the policy solutions are much cheaper. Corporate America, in particular, has embraced diversity, he says, because "the obligations of diversity (being nice to each other)" are far easier to address than "the obligations of equality (giving up our money)." Even class inequality is now discussed as an issue of "classism" rather than deprivation. He explains, "Classism is what you're a victim of not because you're poor but because people aren't nice to you because you're poor." But Michaels argues that the deeper problem is not "classism"—that poor kids are "made to feel uncomfortable on the campuses of Duke, Northwestern, and Harvard"—but that most low-income students "have never set foot on these campuses or on any other." He writes, "So for thirty years, while the gap between rich and poor has grown larger, we've been urged to respect people's identities—as if the problem of poverty would be solved if we just appreciated the poor."

And when one moves from the principle of nondiscrimination to the realm of affirmative action preferences, the problem with "doing both" race and class is that it's often politically unsustainable. In the 2006 election, as Democrats were celebrating across the country, an anti–affirmative action initiative passed easily in Michigan, just as similar ballot initiatives prevailed in California in 1996 and Washington State in 1998. Taken together with Florida, where Governor Jeb Bush preempted a threatened ballot initiative with an executive order banning racial preferences, the Michigan result means that four states, containing nearly one quarter of the U.S. population, have now banned preferential affirmative action in public universities and state government.

This is problematic not only because affirmative action by race is deeply unpopular, but because the identification of Democrats with race-specific policies has torn at the Democratic coalition for years. The problem with racial identity politics is that it encourages a form of white identity politics. Nothing pleases the right wing more than having the white working class—America's premier swing vote—identify with its race rather than its class in the voting booth.

Michaels makes a robust case for resurrecting the importance of class, but unfortunately falls into the trap of implying that discrimination by race and gender are no longer serious problems. He never comes out and says this directly, but he comes very close. At one point, for example, he writes, "Why, in a world where most of us are not racist (where, on the humanities faculties at our universities, we might more plausibly say not that racism is rare but that it is extinct), do we take so much pleasure in reading attacks on racism?" To say that racism is "extinct" in any occupational field is just absurd. Likewise, there is Michaels's unreasonable attack on a victim of gender discrimination at the investment firm Morgan Stanley. Michaels makes much of her $1 million salary, but although that may make her an unsympathetic recipient of preferences, it should not deny her the right to equal treatment.

In these instances, by pushing his case too far, Michaels unwittingly undercuts his argument for taking class seriously. Part of the resistance to policies like class-based affirmative action is that its color-blind approach is seen as suggesting that racism is no longer a problem, a thing of the past. But in fact, class-based programs incorporate not only the legacy of past discrimination but also the reality of current-day discrimination. We know, for example, that black median net worth is just 12 percent of white net worth, a gap far greater than the income divide between races. To some significant degree, the wealth gap reflects both the legacy of slavery and segregation and ongoing discrimination in the housing market. Houses in African American neighborhoods appreciate slower than houses in white neighborhoods because of racial bias in housing choices. A college admissions policy which counts lack of wealth—or living in a community with concentrated poverty—as an obstacle powerfully incorporates the reality of discrimination.

Emphasizing class in America is always an uphill battle. There are many pressures to shift the focus to race—both from civil rights organizations, whose primary concern is race, and from conservatives who have an unseemly fascination with "pathologies" in minority communities. In the academy, there are black professors, Latino professors, female professors, and gay professors, but there are no low-income professors. Walter Benn Michaels provides an important corrective. American society may sometimes run away from race, but far more often, we run away from class.

Richard D. Kahlenberg, a senior fellow at the Century Foundation, is author of **The Remedy: Class, Race, and Affirmative Action** and **All Together Now: Creating Middle-Class Schools Through Public School Choice**. He is currently writing a biography of the educator Albert Shanker.

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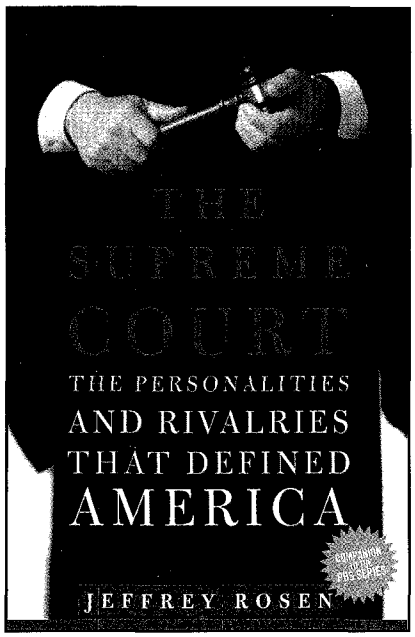
Kindergarten Court

Why the best justices are those that play well with others.



The Supreme Court
By Jeffrey Rosen
$25, Times Books/Henry Holt

By Stephen Pomper

Ask yourself what qualities make for a great Supreme Court justice, and the answers that spring quickly to mind are along the lines of "brilliance" and "consistency" and "impartiality." (If you're really being honest you might add "shares my politics" to that list.) But in his most recent book, *The Supreme Court: The Personalities and Rivalries That Defined America*, Jeffrey Rosen argues for another possibility: temperament. Rosen's point is that the Court's most successful jurists—he spotlights John Marshall, John Harlan, Hugo Black, and William Rehnquist, and tips his hat to several others—have the same temperamental strengths that one looks for in high-performing kindergarteners. They listen well, are pleasant, and do not whine. They know how and when to go with the flow, and are keenly concerned about the well-being of the group. And they are good sharers: for example, in the early days of the Court, Justice Marshall arranged for the justices to board together, and lubricated their social gatherings with his private stock of Madeira. How nice is that?

It is, of course, very nice, and Rosen delivers up similarly nice stories about the other justices whom he fits for haloes in this book. Justice Black had Harry Truman to his place for bourbon and barbecue after handing him a stinging setback in the steel-seizure cases. Sandra Day O'Connor invited bachelor David Souter for Thanksgiving, out of pure grandmotherly graciousness. And when William Rehnquist stopped in for services at a Lutheran church while attending an out-of-town judicial conference, he wanted so badly to avoid being the center of attention that when asked his line of work he averred to being a "government lawyer." Rosen suggests that these well-honed social (and to some degree political) instincts contribute to a jurist's effectiveness on the bench and inform judgments that stand the test of time. As evidence, Rosen points repeatedly to John Marshall, who was able to expand and solidify the Court's jurisdiction in part because of his skill in avoiding confrontations with the political branches. In the iconic case *Marbury v. Madison*, Marshall was canny enough to hand Thomas Jefferson a political victory (declining to make him honor departing President John Adams's last-minute appointments of several "midnight judges") while at the same time claiming for the Court its defining authority—the power of judicial review.

But Rosen doesn't stop at arguing that nice justices finish first. As readers of *Highlights for Children* know well, the character Gallant shines not only because he is good, but because his counterpart, Goofus, is such a jerk. Rosen borrows from this model, sharply

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contrasting each justice he praises with a Goofus of the same era who may have been a certifiable genius but whose legacy is marred by character shortcomings. Some of the Goofus choices will, at least to nonhistorians, seem surprising and provocative. For example, Rosen casts Thomas Jefferson as John Marshall's aloof and abstracted executive-branch foil, arguing that Jefferson's overcommitment to states' rights led him to flail ineffectively at Marshall's federalizing jurisprudence. And Rosen contrasts the warm and gregarious John Harlan, whose opinions later blazed a path for the civil rights movement, against fellow Civil War veteran Oliver Wendell Holmes. Rosen paints Holmes as a vain and cynical elitist who helped sustain a generation of Jim Crow laws, and who famously authored an opinion permitting the forcible sterilization of a mentally disabled woman, noting that "Three generations of imbeciles is enough."

The Supreme Court was developed from a PBS series that Rosen worked on, and it has the kind of pacing, structure, and entertainment value you would expect from a project that originated on the small screen. Like pretty much all of Rosen's work, it's also elegantly written and informative. Law students who want a quick and accessible road map to the Court's landmark decisions before embarking on a semester of Con Law could do worse than to look at this book, together with Rosen's 2006 book about the Court, *The Most Democratic Branch*.

But the book also has considerable shortcomings. For one thing, the Goofus/Gallant comparisons, while fun to read, aren't always especially illuminating. In a book about judicial temperament, is it really fair to make invidious comparisons between Chief Justice John Marshall and Thomas Jefferson, who—one almost hates to point this out—wasn't a judge? And how useful is it to contrast Hugo Black to his contemporary William O. Douglas? On the one hand, Black was an appealingly principled figure. He kept Truman out of the steel mills, argued that the Bill of Rights should protect individual freedoms against state government action in areas where it had only applied to the federal government, and later in his career tried to restrain certain overreaching excesses of the Warren Court. Opposite him we have Douglas, a brilliant but lazy jurist who wrote sloppy opinions, drank too much, and chased after women who were a fraction of his age. What emerges from this comparison is that we prefer our Supreme Court justices sober, hard-working, and non-lecherous. Who knew?

> One of the reasons we prize our independent judiciary is because it can do the right thing even when the political winds are blowing in the opposite direction.

Rosen also spends the entire last chapter pouring what seems like excessive uncritical adoration on the newly minted chief justice, John Roberts, whom Rosen interviewed at length. "Because of his appealing personality and personal thoughtfulness," writes Rosen, "it's easy when talking to him to forget you're talking to the Chief Justice of the United States." While this is lovely to know, Rosen might have given Roberts a few more years to make his mark before spending twenty pages hinting that he is the Second Coming of John Marshall.

But the bigger problem with this book lies deeper. *The Supreme Court* appears to be part of a continuing effort by Rosen to help the Court find its way to a constitutional sweet spot—a mode and style of judging that will enhance the Court's stature and legitimacy—by arguing that it should be, in essence, more political. Rosen started down this path in his last book, *The Most Democratic Branch*, in which he argued that the Court's best and most-respected decisions are ones that align with the deeply held constitutional views of the American people. In saying this, however, he neglected to give a clear sense of how the Court should, as a practical matter, determine these views. Should it follow the political branches? Take its lead from polling data? Or perhaps, on occasion, consult a Magic 8-Ball? In *The Supreme Court*, Rosen makes something of an effort to fill this hole by suggesting that a lot comes down to the personal instincts of individual justices. Judicial temperament, he argues, "influences how and whether the Supreme Court manages to express constitutional values that are recognized by the American people as fundamental or whether it attempts in vain to impose contested values on an unwilling nation."

Rosen is not a strict majoritarian (and indeed he reserves some of his hardest shots for Justice Holmes, who was), but he clearly suggests, both here and elsewhere in his recent work, that things will go better for the Court if it can avoid

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ticking off big chunks of the country and the political branches of government. That may be right much of the time, and it may also be right that Supreme Court justices who have strong social skills will also be good at minimizing friction between the Court and the political world. But there are situations in which an instinct for comity is not an unalloyed virtue. One of the reasons we prize our independent judiciary is precisely because it can do the right thing even when the political winds are blowing in the opposite direction. While congeniality may have its uses, there's a difference between recognizing that it can help the Court to sail smoothly through its tasks, and suggesting that it should become the Court's defining characteristic. To the extent that Rosen is arguing the former, he comes very close to stating the obvious. To the extent that he is arguing the latter, he flirts with undermining one of the key reasons for the Court's existence. To cast this in terms that *Highlights* readers will appreciate, Gallant may be an okay guy, but he's not the right fellow for every situation. We ought to think twice before we stack the Court with men and women who don't like to get their clothes dirty—and who may be too quick to walk away from a fight.

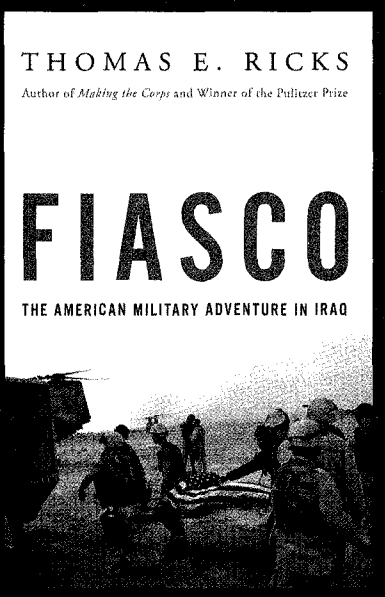
Stephen Pomper is a contributing editor of the **Washington Monthly.**

THE WASHINGTON MONTHLY'S

Annual Political Book Award

When future historians want to know what went wrong in the first years of America's occupation of Iraq, they will doubtlessly turn to *Tom Ricks's Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq*. And when journalism professors assign books of great war reporting to their students, we hope Ricks's book will be one of them. *The Washington Post*'s Pulitzer Prize–winning senior Pentagon correspondent not only traveled with soldiers on the ground in Iraq, but tapped the sources, up and down the chain of command, that he'd developed during his twenty-three years of reporting on the military. For his research, Ricks combed through more than 30,000 pages of documents and dozens of books, but most importantly he relied on the unexpurgated e-mails, letters, and notes from American military personnel, many of whom were outraged at the conduct of the war. Ricks reveals that in the crucial early months of the occupation, senior civilian and military leaders refused to admit—despite the evidence in front of them—that they were fighting an insurgency. Indeed, Ricks shows that the U.S. military had failed over many decades to incorporate into its doctrine and practices the hard-won counterinsurgency lessons of Vietnam. It was, says Ricks, "... as if the Army washed its hands of the entire experience and essentially concluded that it was never going to do anything like that again." Ricks's writing is clear, measured, and free from bombast—and will, without a doubt, inspire outrage in any reader who cares about America.

FIASCO
BY THOMAS E. RICKS



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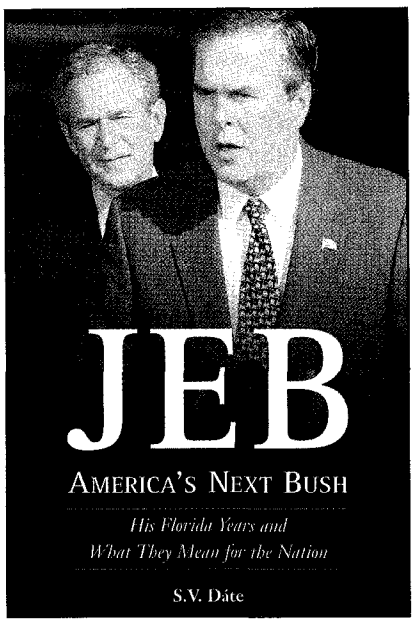
Son King

Further confirmation that the wrong Bush brother was elected president.



Jeb: America's Next Bush
By S. V. Dáte
$26.95, Penguin

By Phillip Longman

"*No tengo futuro,*" Jeb Bush told Spanish-language reporters last December. Word that Florida's popular two-term governor sees himself as having no political future is hardly surprising. Jeb may be the smart one, the one who's deeply curious and involved with the mechanics of government, the one whose poll ratings as he leaves office show that 57 percent of Floridians believe he was a good, even a great, governor. But he's also a Bush, and whatever advantages that patrimony may have given him throughout most of his life, it's a huge political liability now. True, just maybe his older brother will miraculously deliver "peace with honor" in the next few months. But I think not.

So, is there any reason to read *Jeb*, S. V. Dáte's 370-page profile of the man he warns will become "America's Next Bush?" Well, maybe if you closely follow Florida politics, and since 2000 we all know just how important Florida politics can be for the rest of us. And maybe if you believe, as the book's dust jacket assures us, that John McCain has discussed running Jeb as his vice president in 2008, or the recent reports that Mitt Romney wants to do the same. Finally, if you're a policy wonk looking to study how ideas like school vouchers, standardized testing, and privatization play out in the real world, this book will provide many examples. For however wrongheaded many of his policies may have been, Jeb Bush was an active and innovative governor of a bellwether state.

But that still leaves us with the problem of the unreliable narrator. Before I picked up this book, my opinions about Jeb Bush were hardly favorable. In the 1998 Florida gubernatorial race he defeated the thinking man's choice, Democrat Buddy MacKay—a man I once worked for in the 1980s while he was in Congress and whom I still hold in high regard. After years of later working as a reporter and editor for the state's leading business and public affairs magazine, *Florida Trend* (owned by the liberal *St. Petersburg Times*), I also saw Jeb as wrong on many issues. And of course, like most Americans of all political stripes, I'm fed up and angry these days with all things Bush. But as I set this book down, I found myself not persuaded by Dáte's claim that Jeb is a potential dictator poised and ready to enslave America.

Dáte, who covered and clashed with Bush for seven years as a reporter for the *Palm Beach Post*, makes no pretext of neutrality. That's okay by me. It's his book, and there's plenty about Jeb Bush and his policies to dislike, including his disdainful treatment of the reporters seeking access to public documents. But Dáte is much better at setting down

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facts than he is at making consistent formulations about their meaning. At one point, for example, he tells us that not only was Bush intent on favoring business and dismantling Florida's government, he also "tried to run Florida like it was the Soviet Russia." Don't you hate those Communist dictators who favor business?

Still, Dáte wants people to read his book, and that means he has to convince us that Bush's record and character are strong enough that he just might wind up being elected president despite his older brother's seeming ruination of the family name. The result is an imperative to build Jeb up as presidential material while also tearing him down. This, plus Dáte's simple sloppiness in making his charges, leads to a series of what might be called "backhanded insults," derogatory assertions that Dáte formulates in such a way that the more you think about them the more you cannot help but see them as compliments.

For example, one of Dáte's major themes is that Jeb is dangerously arrogant. Indeed, according to Dáte, the enormity of his ego is such that he doesn't let himself get pushed around by campaign contributors. "Jeb personally does not go out of his way to reward political donors with contracts or anything else," Dáte tells us, "because he truly believes he is doing us all a favor by serving as our leader." Gee, does that mean Jeb's an honest politician?

Dáte is eager to rehash all the familiar allegations about Bush's days as a Miami businessman—that he hung out with shady characters, traded on his family name, and in general was out to make a quick buck, sometimes at the taxpayers' expense. But the more Dáte gets into the details, the more he inadvertently paints a picture of an ambitious young man who built a modest fortune (his net worth was at one time $2.04 million, since shrunk to $1.4 million) in South Florida's generally corrupt, fly-by-night business culture without committing any demonstrable crime or even shaving many corners.

However wrongheaded many of his policies may have been, Jeb Bush was an active and innovative governor of a bellwether state.

Yes, as Dáte documents, Jeb's "deal flow" was improved by people seeking access to his family. Yes, he rubbed shoulders with people he shouldn't have, like Miguel Recarey, who reputedly once assisted in CIA attempts to kill Castro and later became a fugitive after his HMO collapsed. But this was Miami in 1980s—with it runaway S&L presidents and Brickell Avenue bankers and lawyers all prospering, directly or indirectly, from re-circulated drug money and Latin American flight capital. That young Jeb didn't wind up with worse friends than he did suggests he had at least some shred of shrewdness and morality. And as Dáte himself concedes, you have only to look at the failed business careers of Neil Bush and George W. to see that family ties alone do not guarantee success in business.

Even in trying to question Jeb's commitment to public life, Dáte winds up complimenting him. Dáte writes of Bush, "if he truly wanted to be a public servant, he would be angling to run FEMA. His experience in Florida suggests he would be good at it, and God knows the nation needs someone good in that job."

If there is a smoking gun in the book, I can't find it. Bush exploited changes in the state constitution that gave him far more executive power than any previous Florida governor. This power was what allowed him to take on bold (if often, in my view, misguided) efforts at revamping Florida's education system, including a rigorous standardized testing program passed before No Child Left Behind. His enhanced constitutional powers were not enough to keep the courts from ultimately striking down his equally bold school voucher and charter school initiatives, but they were sufficient to allow Jeb to privatize many other state functions, from processing Medicaid third-party payments to collecting highway tolls and managing the state lottery. For better or for worse, Jeb Bush shook up Florida's government and many of its entrenched special interests and power centers.

All this made him a lot of enemies in the legislature. And the press had to get used to working with a strong governor who didn't have to rely much on their approval. But that doesn't make Jeb a dictator. Indeed, after years of watching Florida's elected cabinet members get captured by the special interests they regulated, I'm glad Florida's governor now gets to appoint his own education secretary, for example, as well as

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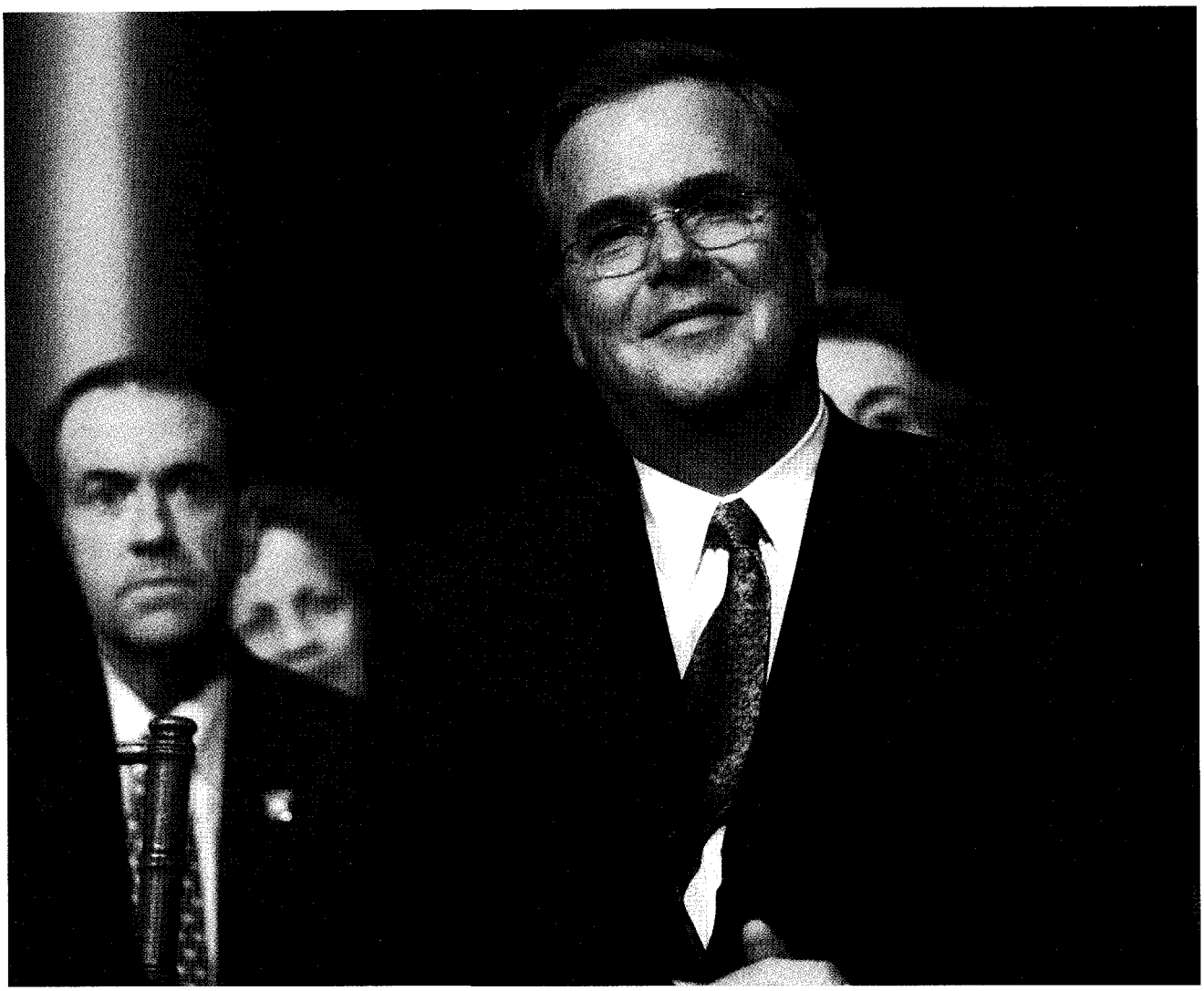

AP, PHOTOGRAPHER PHIL COALE

his own comptroller and bank examiners, even if I disagree with this particular governor's choices and policies. In allowing for a strong executive, Florida is simply overcoming its Confederate past and becoming like most other states.

So what is the proper measure of Jeb Bush? Despite his enhanced constitutional powers and his energetic leadership, he left most of Florida's many long-term problems worse than he found them, as I believe will become more apparent as the years go by. He presided over a booming Florida economy, fueled primarily by real estate speculation. He spent the resulting, short-term windfall revenue primarily on tax cuts while ignoring or resisting the majority of voters who backed initiatives calling for reduced classroom sizes and a well-planned, sorely needed high-speed rail network in Florida. He failed to address Florida's narrow, highly cyclical tax base; its sprawling, disaster-prone development; transportation gridlock; exceptional energy dependency; and soaring property insurance and property tax rates. Though he leaves the governorship with high poll numbers, there is plenty in his record he'll have trouble defending should the fates decide that his future in politics is indeed not over. But his critics and opponents will have to do a better job than Dáte has done in showing why this smart, hardworking, innovative, and charismatic politician should not be trusted with the nation's future.

Phillip Longman is a senior fellow at the New America Foundation and the author of **Best Care Anywhere: Why VA Health Care Is Better Than Yours**, forthcoming in April 2007.

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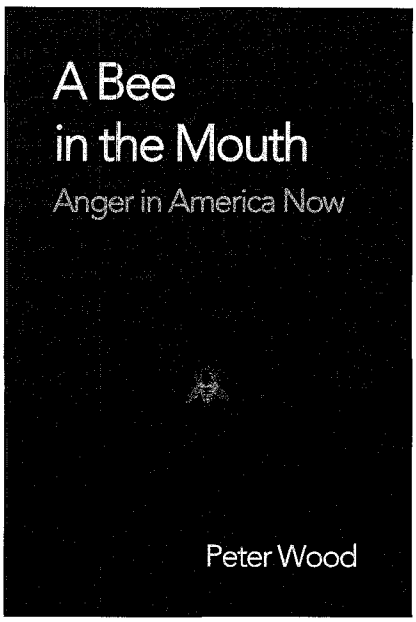
America the Ornery

Peter Wood thinks we luxuriate in our anger. You got a problem with that?



A Bee in the Mouth
By Peter Wood
$25.95, Encounter

By Jamie Malanowski

One of the tropes of New Journalism was itself the attachment of the word "New" on some phenomenon or personality that had gussied itself up with fern plants or sideburns or a listener-friendly vocabulary, and thus had changed sufficiently enough to warrant a fresh article in a stylish magazine or newspaper section: "The New Nixon," for example. But with newness having been so profligately ascribed to so much of the same old stuff, the now-threadbare concept has been all but consigned to the cliché bin. However, in *A Bee in the Mouth: Anger in America Now*, Peter Wood, an anthropologist who is provost and academic vice president of King's College in New York, would have us believe that there is a New Anger stirring up trouble in the land.

Or at least a New Anger Style. Wood doesn't think we are angrier than we have ever been, or angry more often; he does think we express ourselves more angrily, more often, that at the merest provocation we act indignantly and speak harshly. Why? "New Anger ... is the expression of a new cultural ideal that emphasizes the importance of individual authenticity achieved through the projection of personal power over others. New Anger is ... perhaps the most important modality of an increasingly common personality type ... that the historian Christopher Lasch called 'narcissistic' a generation ago." Wood sees New Anger in rap music, in the snarling looks of today's cars, in NBA brawls, in movies like *The Upside of Anger* and *Anger Management*, and, of course, in politics. There Wood says we have moved "beyond vituperation to a kind of anger that luxuriate[s] in its own vehemence ... New Anger elevates style to a new prominence ... [and] is about declaring one's identity as it is about taking umbrage at someone else's infraction." Moreover, Wood says we not only tolerate expressions of anger, we encourage them, extolling them as examples of self-empowerment.

The idea that we are angrier today than we were before is a hard sell. "The heroic figures in the eyes of Americans from the eighteenth through much of the twentieth century generally were not angry men," he writes. "Although they may have been men who had good grounds for grievance, most kept their wrath from getting the better of them. Dignity, manliness, and wisdom called for self-control and coolness of temper." But Wood's grasp of history can be quite slippery: in the election of 1800, the tie in the Electoral College was not, as Wood says, between Jefferson and his Federalist opponent John Adams, but between Jefferson and his own running mate, Aaron Burr; and if "*L'audace, l'audace, toujours l'audace*" was "the cry of

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yesterday's avant-garde," as Wood says, it's because they were quoting Frederick the Great. But to his point: we heap a lot of praise on our paragons, but let's not pretend that anger hasn't been one of the breezes filling the sails of American life forever. Read the rhetoric in the papers in any election campaign in the nineteenth century. Read what editorialists said about the British before the War of 1812, what people wrote about abolitionists and suffragettes and trade unionists and civil rights activists. The armies of the North and South marched to a civil war on clouds of angry words. Remember all our judgmental puritans, gunslinging desperadoes, choleric nativists, the Battling Bickersons, the gangs of New York. Consider that between 1798 and 1815, eighteen officers in the tiny U.S. Navy were killed in duels; Andrew Jackson personally fought in 103 duels. In 1856, South Carolina Representative Preston Brooks went to the floor of the Senate and used his cane to beat abolitionist Senator Charles Sumner senseless. Beatings, whippings, canings, lynchings, labor riots at River Rouge, race riots in Tulsa, zoot suit riots in East L.A.—the soundtrack of the American movie isn't exactly played on a harp. Wood looks at a great chain of vituperation and says, "None of these events made anger into a national ideal." Geneticists tell us that a tiny, subtle chromosomal difference can yield very different species. Wood must have an awesome microscope.

Whether or not anger is a new and different phenomenon, Wood, pointing to *Little Women* and other nineteenth-century works, is sure that our ancestors were far less tolerant of angry demonstrations, and that we are entirely too indulgent with the purveyors of anger. He knows who to blame, too: "the quasi-intellectual rationalization of anger as a force to overcome the supposedly hypocritical custodians of the old culture, and an infatuation with figures who embodied the new spirit of angry freedom." Among that group: Allen Ginsberg, Gloria Steinem, Abbie Hoffman, Bob Dylan, and Malcolm X.

It's a little hard to figure out what Wood is suggesting here. Are these people mere showmen whose critiques of society were undertaken for their own self-aggrandizement, and whose whinier successors have now infested the land? Or were these people who were sincere in their critiques, but whose style has been copied by counterfeit complainers? It's interesting that he restricts his models to a group of left-leaning people, and does not nominate any contemporary showy, florid, attention-seeking right wingers like Joseph McCarthy, Lester Maddox, George Wallace, Curtis LeMay, or even Barry "extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice" Goldwater. But if what Wood is trying to say here is that we have become a much more open society, where people are encouraged to express themselves and talk about what's bothering them, well, duh! Yeah, sure—in recent decades, we as a society, in our homes, schools, churches, doctors' offices, and places of business, have encouraged people to open up and talk about what's bothering them. We don't encourage old-school stoicism. And yes—for every complaint about how Doug in shipping is sending his secretary unsolicited X-rated photographs, we get a dozen seemingly trivial complaints about insufficiently ergonomic desk chairs.

One thing that would have been helpful would be if Wood had made it clearer when he believes people are entitled to be angry. Often it seems that when he supports the person who is expressing himself, he doesn't characterize that person as angry. He looks at the American Revolution, for example, and sees an enterprise launched not out of a sense of anger but from a sense of duty—a duty to uphold certain principles about the relationship between ruler and ruled. Wood may have a point, although one might ask the Tories whose homes were ransacked by the Sons of Liberty or the Loyalists who were driven into Canada whether anger was involved. Still, one need only look at the French Revolution to see how differently these things can go.

The real question, though, is, What's wrong with anger? Our civilization's moral tradition stems from laws supposedly handed down by a God who got fed up and flooded the world and set fire to cities and turned people to salt and drowned the armies of the Pharoah, and who sent as a redeemer his son, a prophet of forgiveness who nonetheless had a day when he drove the money changers out of the temple. Anger isn't foreign to us; anger is at our root—at least when it seems legitimate. When it seems legitimate enough, we'll electrocute your ass. We love it when our leaders take strong stands for good purposes, when Ronald Reagan says, "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!" or when George W. Bush stands on the rubble of the World Trade Center and promises a mighty retribution. It's true that Wood seems most especially annoyed with people who make a show of their anger in order to call attention to themselves (though not even Ann Coulter has been able to turn anyone into a pillar of salt), but Wood should give some clearer consideration to the legitimacy of what people are angry about. Sure, the constant and indiscriminate invective that the right poured on Bill Clinton and that the left has poured on George W. Bush frequently seems just the sort of gratuitous grandstanding that so bothers Wood, but it's not all showmanship. When a man who ran as a moderate conservative governs from the far right after winning an election he has arguably lost, when he lies about the reasons for launching a war and then criminally bungles the management of that war in such a way that it will redound to the country's disadvantage for at least a generation, I think folks are entitled to be miffed. I also think that after a man takes an oath to faithfully execute the laws of the country, and then takes another oath to always tell the

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truth, and then tells lies, people are entitled to get a little hot under the collar. Moreover, when one of the corporately underwritten political parties who run this country gets us into a quagmire of a war, and the other corporately underwritten political parties can't get us out, I think all of us are entitled to be righteously, Old Testament Yahwehly, smite-them-with-a-thunderboltly pissed off. But maybe that's just me.

Wood's observation of our increasing tolerance of an anger aesthetic—onfrontational political discourse, hostile rap music, off-putting tattoos—could have gone further. Reality TV is full of nastiness and conflict; people getting thrown off the island; the sneers of Donald Trump, TV star. But where Wood doesn't go far enough is in asking which of our other attitudes have changed. We may be angrier as a society but arguably more accepting of living with people of different religions, races, sexual orientations, and so on. If we allow more "in your face" attitude among women, we certainly discourage it among men, or at least among authority figures. We're less hierarchical, more encouraging of male sentimentality (seems like every two months there's an emotional, inspirational, tear-wrenching football movie at the tenplex), more encouraging of sexual expression. And what we see on TV and in the movies notwithstanding, we are far less tolerant of violence. We no longer turn a blind eye to family violence, we are much more aware of bullying, we are less militaristic as a society, and we are mostly anti-gun. If we are more tolerant of angry speech and hostile symbols, we are less tolerant of violent actions. All of these changes seem to be upshots of the culture wars of our recent past; all seem like they will be subject to future alteration.

The good news is that perhaps the anger that Wood finds so painful to hear in our political discourse may have at long last peaked. People noticed when Jon Stewart went on *Crossfire* and mocked the show's rock-'em-sock-'em pundits, and Stephen Colbert's parody of Bill O'Reilly may mean that it's time to start shorting the caustic Culture Warrior's stock. The two hottest political personalities at this moment are Arnold Schwarzenegger and Barak Obama, men who are preaching post-partisan approaches to our problems. But even if the New Anger remains a permanent part of our political discourse, I wouldn't be much alarmed: it's loud and it's nasty, but it really is the sound of democracy, working its way through the body politic.

Jamie Malanowski is the managing editor of **Playboy**. His new novel, **The Coup**, will be published by Doubleday in July.

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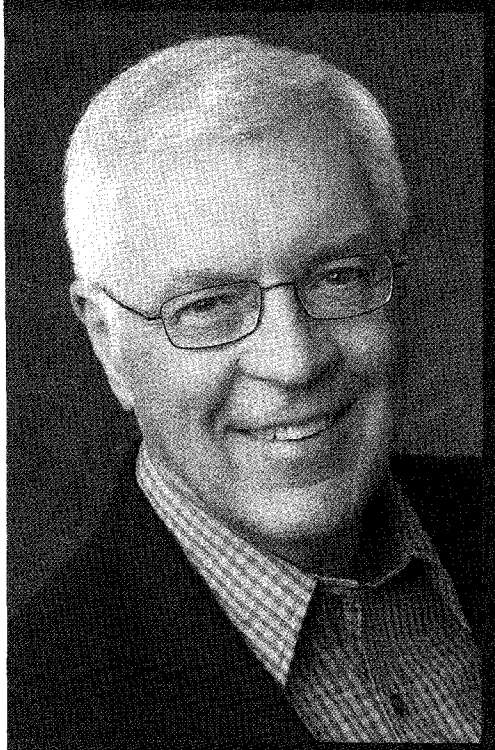

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